The HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars OF ENGLAND.

From the Year 1640, to 1660.

By *T. H.*

The Second Edition.

Religio peperit Sceleroſa atque impia Facta.
Tantum Religio potuit Suadere Malorum.
Lucret. de Natur. Rer. Lib. I.

Placavi Sanguine Deos. Hor. Serm. Lib. II. Satyr. 3.

Quicquid delirant Reges, Plectuntur Achivi. Hor.

Cui potior Patria fuit interdicta voluptas.
Hor. Lib. I. Epiſt 6.

Sceiuſque Fraterna Necis:
——————*Sua*
Vrbs hæc periret dextera,
Suis & ipſa Roma viribus Ruit. Hor. Epod. 16.

Printed in the Year 1679.

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THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars OF ENGLAND.

A. IF in Time, as in Place, there were Degrees of High and Low; I verily believe, that the higheſt of Time, would be that which paſſeth betwixt 1640, and 1660. For he that thence as from the *Devil*'s Mountain, ſhould have looked upon the World, and obſerved the Actions of Men, eſpecially in *England*, might have had a Proſpect of all kinds of Injuſtice, and of all kinds of Folly that the World could afford; and how they were produced by their Hypocriſy and Self-conceit; whereof the one is double Iniquity, and the other double Folly.

B. I ſhould be glad to behold the Proſpect. You

that have lived in that time and in that part of your Age; wherein Men used to see best into good and evil: I pray you set me (that could not see so well) upon the same Mountain, by the relation of the actions you then saw, & of their causes, Pretentions, Justice, Order, Artifice and Events.

A. In the year, 1640. The Government of *England* was Monarchical, and the King that reigned, *Charles* the I. of that Name, holding the Soveraignty by Right of a Discent continued above 600 years; and from a much longer Discent King of *Scotland*; and from the Time of his Ancestors *Henry* the 2. King of *Ireland*, a Man that wanted no Vertue, either of Body or Mind, nor endeavour'd any thing more, than to discharge his Duty towards his God, in the well governing of his Subjects.

B. How could he then miscarry, having in every County so many Train'd-bands, as would (put together) have made an Army of 60000 Men, and divers Magazenes of Ammunition, in Places fortified.

A. If those Souldiers had been (as they and all others of his Subjects ought to have been) at his Majesties Command: the Peace and Happiness of the Three Kingdoms, had continued, as it was left by K. *James*; but the People were corrupted generally, and Disobedient Persons esteemed the best Patriots

B. But sure, there were Men enough, besides those that were ill-affected, to have made an Army sufficient for to have kept the People from uniting into a Body able to oppose him.

A. Truely, if the King had had Money, I think he might have had Souldiers enough in *England*; for

for there were very few of the common People that cared much for either of the Causes, but would have taken any side for pay and plunder: But the Kings treasure was very low, and his Enemies that pretended the Peoples ease from Taxes, and other specious things, had the Command of the Purses of the City of *London*, and of most Cities and Corporate Towns in *England*; and of many particular Persons besides.

B. But how comes the People to be so corrupted, and what kind of People were they that did so seduce them?

A. The Seducers were of divers sorts. One sort were *Ministers*; *Ministers* (as they called themselves) of Christ; and sometimes in their Sermons to the People, Gods Embassadors, pretending to have a Right from God to govern every one his Parish, and their Assembly, the whole Nation.

Secondly, There were a very great number, though not comparable to the other, which notwithstanding that the Popes Power in *England*, both Temporal and Ecclesiastical had been by Act of Parliament abolished, did still retain a belief, that we ought to be governed by the Pope, whom they pretended to be the Vicar of Christ, and in the Right of Christ to be the Governour of all Christian People, and these were known by the Name of *PAPISTS*, as the *Ministers* I mentioned before, were commonly called *PRESBYTERIANS*.

Thirdly, There were not a few, who in the beginning of the Troubles were not discovered, but shortly after declared themselves for a Liberty in

Religion, and those of different Opinions one from another: Some of them (because they would have all Congregations free and independant upon one another) were called *INDEPENDANTS*; others that held Baptism to Infants, and such as understood not into what they are Baptized, to be ineffectual, were called therefore *ANABAPTISTS*: Others that held, that *Christ*'s Kingdom was at this time to begin upon the Earth, were called *FIFTH-MONARCHT-MEN*; besides divers other Sects, as *QUAKERS*, *ADAMITES*, &c. whose Names, and peculiar Doctrines, I do not very well remember; and these were the Enemies, which arose against his Majesty from the private Interpretation of the Scripture exposed to every Mans scanning in his Mother-Tongue.

Fourthly, There were an exceeding great number of Men of the better sort, that had been so educated, as that in their Youth having read the Books written by famous Men of the Antient *Grecian* and *Roman* Common-Wealths, concerning their Policy and great Actions; in which Book the Popular Government was extold by that glorious Name of Liberty, and Monarchy disgraced by the Name of Tyranny: they became thereby in love with their form of Government. And out of these Men were chosen the greatest part of the *HOUSE OF COMMONS*: or if they were not the greatest part, yet by advantage of their Eloquence were always able to sway the rest.

Fifthly, The City of *London*, and other great Towns of Trade, having in admiration the Prosperity

rity of the Low-Countries after they had revolted from their Monarch, the King of *Spain*, were inclined to think, that the like Change of Government here would to them produce the like Prosperity.

Sixthly, There were a very great Number, that had either wasted their Fortunes, or thought them too mean for the good parts they thought were in themselves: and more there were that had able Bodies, and saw no means how honestly to get their Bread: These longed for a War, and hoped to maintain themselves hereafter by the lucky chusing of a Party to side with, and consequently did for the most part serve under them, that had greatest plenty of Money.

Lastly, The People in general were so ignorant of their Duties, as that not one perhaps of 1000 knew what Right any Man had to command him, or what necessity there was of King or Commonwealth, for which he was to part with his Money against his will; but thought himself to be so much Master of whatsoever he possest, that it could not be taken from him upon any pretence of Common Safety, without his own consent. *King*, they thought was but a Title of the highest Honour, which *Gentlemen*, *Knight*, *Baron*, *Earl*, *Duke*, were but steps to ascend to with the help of Riches; and had no Rule of Equity, but Precedents and Custom: and he was thought wisest and fittest to be chosen for a Parliament, who was most averse to the granting of Subsidies, or other publick Payments.

B. In such a Constitution of People, methinks the

King is already outed of his Government: so as they need not have taken Arms for it: For I cannot imagine, how the King should come by any means to resist them.

A. There was indeed very great difficulty in the business, but of that point you will be better informed in the pursuit of this Narration.

B. But I desire to know first the several grounds of the Pretences, both of the *Pope* and of the *Presbyterians*, by which they claim a Right to govern us, as they do in chief, and after that, from whence, and when crept in the Pretences of that *Long Parliament* for a *Democrasie*.

A. As for the *Papists*, they challenge this Right from a Text in *Deut.* 17. and other like Texts, according to the old *Latin* Translation in these words, *And he that out of Pride shall refuse to obey the Commandement of that Priest, which shall at that time Minister before the Lord thy God, that man shall, by the Sentence of the Judge, be put to Death:* and because the *Jews* were the People of God then, so is all Christendom the People of God now, they infer from thence, that the *Pope*, whom they pretend to be High Priest of all Christian People, ought also to be obeyed in all his Decrees by all Christians upon pain of Death: Again, whereas in the *New Testament:* Christ saith, *all Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth, go therefore and teach all Nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and teach them to observe all those things, that I have commanded you*, from thence they infer, that the Command

of

of the Apostles was to be obeyed, & by consequence the Nations were bound to be governed by them, and especially by the Prince of the Apostles, St. *Peter*, and by his Successors the *Popes* of *Rome*.

B. For the Text in the Old Testament, I do not see how the Commandment of God to the *Jews* to obey their *Priests* can be interpreted to have the like force in the Case of other Nations Christian, more then upon Nations Unchristian: For all the world are Gods people, unless we also grant, that a King cannot of an Infidel be made Christian without making himself subject to the Laws of that Apostle or Priest, or Minister, that shall convert him. The *Jews* were a peculiar people of God, a Sacerdotal Kingdom, and bound to no other Law, but what first *Moses*, and afterwards every High Priest did go and receive immediately from the Mouth of God in Mount *Sinai* in the Tabernacle of the Ark, and in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of the Temple. And for the Text in St. *Matthew*: I know the words in the Gospel are not, *Go teach*, but *Go and make Disciples*; and that there is a great difference between a Subject and a Disciple, and between teaching and commanding; and if such Texts as these must be so interpreted, why do not Christian Kings lay down their Titles of Majesty and Soveraignty, and call themselves the *Popes* Lieutenants? But the Doctors of the *Romish Church* seem to decline that Title of *Absolute Power*, in their distinction of *Power Spiritual* and *Temporal*, but this Distinction I do not very well understand.

A. By *Spiritual Power* they mean the Power to

determine Points of Faith, and to be Judges in the Inner-Court of Conſcience of Moral Duties, and of a Power to puniſh thoſe Men that obey not their Precepts by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, that is by Excommunication; and this Power they ſay the *Pope* hath immediately from Chriſt, without dependance upon any King or Soveraign Aſſembly, whoſe Subjects they be that ſtand Excommunicate: But for the Power Temporal, which conſiſts in judging and puniſhing thoſe Actions, that are done againſt the Civil Law, they ſay they do not pretend to it directly, but only indirectly: That is to ſay, ſo far forth as ſuch Actions tend to the hinderance or advancement of Religion *in ordine ad Spiritualia.*

B. What Power then is left to King's and other Civil Soveraigns, which the *Pope* may not pretend to be *in ordine ad Spiritualia?*

A. None, or very little; and this Power the *Pope* not only pretends to in all Chriſtendom, but ſome of his Biſhops alſo in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, *jure Divino:* that is immediatly from *Chriſt*, without deriving it from the *Pope.*

B. But what if a Man refuſe Obedience to this pretended Power of the *Pope* and his *Biſhops*, what harm can Excommunication do him, eſpecially if he be a Subject of another Soveraign?

A. Very great harm: for by the *Popes* or *Biſhops* Signification of it to the *Civil Power*, he ſhall be puniſhed ſufficiently.

B. He were in an ill Caſe then that adventured to write, or ſpeak in defence of the Civil Power, that muſt be puniſhed by him, whoſe Rights he defended

like

like *Uzza*, that was ſlain, becauſe he would needs unbidden, put forth his hand to keep the Ark from falling. But, what if a whole Nation ſhould revolt from the *Pope* at once? What effect could Excommunication have upon the Nation?

A. Why they ſhould have no more Maſs ſaid at leaſt, by any of the *Pope*'s Prieſts. Beſides the *Pope* would have no more to do with them, but caſt them off, and ſo they would be in the ſame Caſe as if a Nation ſhould be caſt off by their King, and left to be Governed by themſelves, or whom they would.

B. This would not be taken ſo much for a Puniſhment to the People as to the King, and therefore when a *Pope* Excommunicates a whole Nation, methinks he rather Excommunicates himſelf, than them. But I pray you tell me, what were the Rights the Pope pretended to in the Kingdoms of other Princes?

A. Firſt, An Exemption of all Prieſts, Fryers, and Monks, in Criminal Cauſes, from the Cognizance of Civil Judges. Secondly, Collation of Benefices on whom he pleaſed, Native or Stranger; and Exaction of Tenths, Fruits, and other Payments. Thirdly, Appeals to *Rome*, in all Cauſes where the Church could pretend to be concern'd. Fourthly, To be the Supreme Judge concerning the Lawfulneſs of Marriage, (*i. e.* concerning the Hereditary Succeſſion of Kings) and to have the Cognizance of all Cauſes concerning Adultery and Fornication.

B. Good! A Monopoly of Women.

A. Fifthly, A Power of abſolving Subjects of

their Duties, and of their Oathes of Fidelity to their Lawful Soveraigns, when the Pope ſhould think fit, for the Extirpation of Hereſie.

B. This Power of Abſolving Subjects of their Obedience; as alſo, that other of being Judges of Manners and Doctrine, is as abſolute a Soveraignty as is poſſible to be: and conſequently, there muſt be two Kingdoms in one and the ſame Nation; and ſo no Man be able to know which of his Maſters he muſt obey.

A. For my part, I ſhould rather obey that Maſter that had the Right of Making Laws, and of inflicting Puniſhments, than him that pretendeth only to a Right of making Canons, that is to ſay, Rules; and no Right of Coaction, or otherwiſe Puniſhing, but by Excommunication.

B. But the Pope pretends alſo, that his Canons are Laws; and for Puniſhing, can there be a greater than Excommunication, ſuppoſing it true (as the Pope ſaith it is) that he that dies Excommunicate is damn'd; which ſuppoſition, it ſeems, you believe not; elſe you would rather have choſen to obey the Pope, that could caſt your Body and Soul into Hell, than the King, that can only kill the Body.

A. You ſay true; for it were very Uncharitable in me to believe, that all *Engliſh* men (except a few Papiſts) that have been born and called *Heretick*s, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion in *England*, ſhould be Damn'd.

B. But for thoſe that dye Excommunicate in the Church of *England* at this day, Do you not think

think them also Damn'd? and he that is Excommunicate for Disobedience to the Kings Law, either Spiritual or Temporal, is Excommunicate for Sin; and therefore, if he dye Excommunicate, and without desire of Reconciliation, he dyes Impenitent? You see, what follows. But to dye in Disobedience to the Precepts and Doctrine of those Men that have no Authority or Jurisdiction over us, is quite another Case, and bringeth no such Danger with it.

B. But what is this Heresie which the Church of *Rome* so-cruelly persecutes, as to Depose Kings that do not, when they are bidden, turn all Hereticks out of their Dominions?

A. Heresie is a word, which when it is used without Passion, signifies a private Opinion: so the different Sect of the Old Philosophers, *Academians*, *Peripatetick's*, *Epicureans*, *Stoicks*, &c. were called *Heresie*: But in the Christian Church, there was in the signification of that Word, comprehended a sinful Opposition to him that was chief Judge of Doctrines, in order to the Salvation of Mens Souls; and consequently, *Heresie* may be said to bear the same Relation to the power Spiritual, that Rebellion doth to the power Temporal; and is sutably to be persecuted by him that will preserve a power Spiritual, and Dominion over Mens Consciences.

B. It would be very well (because we are all of us permitted to read the Holy Scriptures, and bound to make them the Rule of our Actions both publick and private) that Heresie were by some Law defined, and the particular Opinions set forth,

for

for which a man were to be condemned and puniſhed as Hereticks; or elſe, not only men of mean capacity, but even the wiſeſt and devouteſt Chriſtian may fall into Hereſie, without any will to oppoſe the Church; for the Scriptures are hard, and the interpretations different of different men.

A. The meaning of the word Hereſy is by Law declared in an Act of Parliament, in the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*; wherein it is ordained, that the perſons who had by the Queens Letters patents, the Authority Spiritual (meaning the High Commiſſion) ſhall not have Authority to adjudg any matter or Cauſe to be Hereſy, but only ſuch as heretofore have been Adjudged to be Hereſy, by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the Firſt, 4. General Counſels, or by any other General Council, where the ſame was declared Hereſy by the expreſs & plain words of the ſaid Canonical Scriptures or ſuch as hereafter ſhall be adjudged Hereſy, by the High Court of Parliament of this Realm; with the aſſent of the Clergy in their Convocation.

B. It ſeems therefore, if there ariſe any new Error that hath not been yet declared Hereſy (& many ſuch may ariſe) it cannot be judged Hereſy without a Parliament; for how foul ſoever the error be, it cannot have been declared Hereſy, neither in the Scriptures nor in the Councels, becauſe it was never before heard of; and conſequently, there can be no Error unleſs it fall within the compaſs of Blaſphemy againſt God, or Treaſon againſt the King) for which a Man can in Equity be puniſhed: Beſides who can tell what is declared by the Scripture, which

which every man is allowed to read and interpret to himself? nay more, what *Proteſtant*, either of the Laity or Clergy (if every General Councel can be a competent Judge of *Hereſie*) is not already condemned) for divers Councels have declar'd a great many of our Doctrines to be Hereſie (as they pretend) upon the Authority of the Scriptures.

A. What are thoſe points, that the firſt four General Counſels have declared Hereſie?

B. The firſt *General Councel* held at *Nicæa* declared all to be *Hereſie*, which was contrary to the *Nicene* Creed. Upon occaſion of the Hereſie of *Arrius*, which was the denying the Divinity of Chriſt, the *Second General Counſel* held at *Conſtantinople* declar'd Hereſie the Doctrine of *Macedonius*, which was that the Holy Ghoſt was created. The *Third Counſel* aſſembled at *Epheſus* condemned the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*, that there were two perſons in Chriſt. The *Fourth* held at *Calcedon* condemned the Error of *Eutyches*, that there was but one nature in Chriſt. I know of no other points condemned in theſe 4 Counſels, but ſuch as concern Church-Government, or the ſame Doctrines taught by other Men in other words. And theſe Counſels were all called by the Emperors, and by them their Decrees confirmed, at the Petition of the Counſels themſelves.

A. I ſee by this, that both the Calling of the Counſel and the confirmation of their Doctrine and Church Government had no obligatory force, but from the Authority of the Emperor; how comes it then to paſs, that they take upon them now a

Legiſlative

Legislative Power, and say their Canons are Laws? That Text, *All Power is given to me in Heaven and Earth*, had the same force then as it hath now, & conferred a Legislative Power on the Counsels not only over Christian Men, but over all Nations in the world.

B. They say no; for the Power they pretend to is derived from this, that when a King was Converted from *Gentilism* to *Christianity*, he did by that very Submission to the *Bishop* that Converted him, submit to the *Bishops* Government, and became one of his Sheep; which Right therefore he could not have over any Nation, that was not Christian.

A. Did *Silvester* (which was *Pope* of *Rome* in the time of *Constantine* the Great, converted by him) tell the Emperor his New Disciple before hand, that if he became a Christian, he must be the *Popes* Subject.

B. I believe not; for it is likely enough, if he had told him so plainly, or but made him suspect it, he would either have been not Christian at all, or but a Counterfeit one.

A. But if he did not tell him so, & that plainly, it was foul play, not only in a *Priest*, but in any Christian. And for this Derivation of their Right from the Emperors consent, it proceeds only from this, that they dare not challenge a Legislative Power, nor call their Canons Laws in any Kingdom in Christendom, farther than the Kings make them so: But in *Peru*, when *Atabalipa* was King, the *Fryer* told him, That *Christ* being King of all the World, had given the disposing of all the Kingdoms therein to the *Pope*: And that the *Pope* had given *Peru* to the *Roman Emperor Charles* the 5. and required *Atabalipa*

lipa to resign it; and for refusing it, seized upon his Person by the *Spanish* Army there present, and murdered him: You see by this how much they claim, when they have Power to make it good.

B. When began the *Popes* to take this Authority upon them first?

A After the Inundation of *Northern* People had overflowed the *Western* Parts of the Empire, and possessed themselves of *Italy*, the People of the City of *Rome* submitted themselves, as well in *Temporals* as *Spirituals* to their *Bishop*; and then first was the *Pope* a Temporal Prince, and stood no more in so great fear of the Emperors, which lived far off at *Constantinople*: In this time it was, that the *Pope* began by pretence of his *Power Spiritual*, to encroach upon the *Temporal Rights* of all other *Princes* of the *West*; and so continued gaining upon them, till his Power was at the highest, in that 300 years or thereabout, which passed between the time of *Pope Leo* the 3. and *Pope Innocent* the 3. For in this time *Pope Zachary* 1. deposed *Chilperick*, then King of *France*, and gave the Kingdom to one of his Subjects *Pepin*: And *Pepin* took from the *Lombards* a great part of their Territory, and gave it to the Church: shortly after, the *Lombards* having recovered their Estate, *Charles* the Great retook it, and gave it to the Church again, and *Pope Leo* the 3. made *Charles* Emperor.

B. But what Right did the *Pope* there pretend for the creating of an Emperor?

A. He pretended the Right of being Christs Vicar; and what Christ could give, his Vicar might give;

give, and you know that Christ was King of all the World.

B. Yes, as God, and so he gives all the Kingdoms of the World, which nevertheless, proceed from the consent of people either for fear, or hope.

A. But this gift of the Empire was in a more special Manner, in such a Manner, as *Moses* had the Government of *Israel* given him, or rather as *Joshua* had it given him, to go in and out before the people, as the *High Priest* should direct him, and so the Empire was understood to be given him on condition to be directed by the *Pope*: for when the *Pope* invested him with the Regal Ornaments, the people all cryed out *Deus dat*, that is to say, 'tis God that gives it: and from that time, all or most of the Christian Kings do put into their Titles the word *Dei gratia*, that is by the gift of God: and their Successors use still to receive the Crown and Scepter from a Bishop.

'Tis certainly a very good Custom for Kings to be put in mind by whose gift they reign, but it cannot from that Custom be infer'd, that they receive the Kingdom, by mediation from the *Pope* or by any other Clergy: for the *Popes* themselves received the Papacy from the *Emperor*, the first that ever was elected Bishop of *Rome*, after *Emperors* were *Christians*, and without the *Emperors* consent excused himself by Letter to the *Emperor*, with this, that the people and Clergy of *Rome* forced him to take it upon him, and prayed the *Emperor* to confirm it, which the *Emperour* did, but with Reprehension of their proceedings, and prohibition of the like for the time

time to come; the *Emperour* was *Lotharius*, and the *Pope Calixtus* the first.

A. You see by this the Emperour never acknowledged this gift of God was the gift of the *Pope*, but maintained the *Popedom* was the gift of the *Emperour*; but in process of time by the negligence of the *Emperour* (for the greatness of *Kings* makes them that they cannot easily descend into the obscure and narrow Mines of an ambitious Clergy,) they found means to make the people believe, there was a Power in the *Pope* and *Clergy*: which they ought to submit unto, rather than unto the Commands of their own *King* whensoever it should come into Controversy, and to that end devised and decreed many new Articles of Faith, to the diminution of the Authority of *Kings*, and to the disjunction of them and their Subjects, and to a closer adherence of their Subjects to the *Church* of *Rome*'s Articles, either not at all found in, or not well founded upon the *Scripture*; as first, That it should not be lawful for a *Priest* to Marry. What influence could that have upon the power of *Kings*? do you not see that by this, the *King* must of necessity either want the *Priesthood*, and therewith a great part of the Reverence due to him from the most Religious part of his *Subjects*, or else want lawful Heirs to succeed in? by which means being not taken for the Head of the *Church*, he was sure in any Controversy between Him and the *Pope*, that his *Subjects* would be against him.

B. Is not a Christian *King* as much a *Bishop* now, as

as the Heathen *Kings* were of old? for amongſt them *Epiſcopus* was a name common to all *Kings*; Is not he a *Biſhop* now, to whom God hath committed the charge of all the Souls of his Subjects, both of the *Laity* and of the *Clergy*? And though he be in relation to our Saviour who is the chief Paſture of Sheep, yet compared to his own Subjects, they are all Sheep, both *Laick* and *Clergy*, and he only Shepeard, and ſeeing a Chriſtian *Biſhop* is but a Chriſtian indued with power to govern the *Clergy*, it follows that every Chriſtian *King* is not only a *Biſhop* but an *Archbiſhop*, and his whole *Kingdom* his *Dioceſs*; and though it were granted that Impoſition of Hands were neceſſary for a *Prieſt*, yet ſeeing *Kings* have the power of Government of the *Clergy* that are the Subjects, even before Baptiſm, the Baptiſm it ſelf wherein he is received as a Chriſtian is a ſufficient Impoſition of Hands, ſo that whereas before, he was a *Biſhop*, now he is a Chriſtian *Biſhop*.

A. For my part I agree with you, this Prohibition of Marriage to *Prieſts* came in about the time of *Pope Gregory* the Seventh, and *William* the Firſt *King* of *England*, by which means the *Pope* had in *England*, what with Secular, and what with Regular *Prieſts*, a great many luſty Batchelers at his Service. Secondly, That *Auricular Confeſſion* to a *Prieſt* was neceſſary to Salvation. 'Tis true, that before that time, Confeſſion to a *Prieſt* was uſual, and performed for the moſt part (by him that Confeſſed) in writing, but that uſe was taken away about the time of *King Edward* the Third, and

and *Priests* commanded to take Confessions from the Mouth of the Confitent; and men did generally believe, that without *Confession* and *Absolution* before their departure out of the World they could not be saved, and having *Absolution* from a *Priest* they could not be damned. You understand by this how much every man would stand in awe of the *Pope* and *Clergy*, more than they would of the *King*, and what inconveniency it is for a State to have their Subjects confess their secret thoughts to Spies.

B. Yes, as much as Eternal Torture is more terrible than Death, so much they would fear the *Clergy* more than the *King*.

A. And though perhaps the *Roman Clergy* will not maintain that a *Priest* hath power to remit Sins absolutely, but only with a condition of Repentance, yet the people were never so instructed by them, but were left to believe that whensoever they had Absolution their precedent Sins were all discharged, when their Penance, which they took for Repentance, was performed; in the same time began the Article of *Transubstantiation*, for it had been disputed a long time before, in what manner a man did eat the Body of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, as being a point very difficult for a man to conceive and imagine clearly, but now it was made very clear that the *Bread* was *Transubstantiated* into *Christs Body*, and so was become no more *Bread*, but *Flesh*.

B. It seems then that *Christ* had many *Bodies*, and was in as many places at once as there were Com-

Communicants, I think the *Priests* then were so wanton as to insist upon the dulness, not only of common people, but also of Kings and their Councellors.

A. I am now in a Narration, not in a Disputation, and therefore, I would have you at this time to consider nothing else but what effect this Doctrine would work upon Kings and their Subjects in relation to the *Clergy*, who only were able of a piece of *Bread* to make our *Saviours Body*, and thereby at the hour of death to save their Souls.

B. For my part it would have an effect on me to make me think them Gods, and to stand in awe of them as of God himself, if he were visibly present.

A. Besides these and other Articles tending to the upholding of the *Pope*'s Authority, they had many fine points in their Ecclesiastical Policy conducing to the same end: of which I will mention only such as were established within the same time; for then it was the Order came up of *Preaching-Friars*, that wandred up and down with power to Preach in what Congregation they pleased, and were sure enough to instil into the people nothing that might lessen their obedience to the *Church* of *Rome*, but on the contrary, whatsoever might give advantage to it against the Civil Power, besides they privately insinuated themselves with Women and Men of weak judgments, confirming their adherence to the *Pope*, and urging them in the time of their sickness to be beneficial to it by contribution of Money, or building Religious

ligious Houſes, or works of Piety, and neceſſary for the remiſſion of their Sins.

B. I do not remember that I read of any Kingdom or State in the World, where liberty was given to any private man to call the people together and make Orations frequently to them, or at all, without firſt making the State acquainted, except only in *Chriſtendom:* I believe the Heathen *K.* foreſaw that a few ſuch Orators would be able to make a great Sedition, *Moſes* did indeed command to read the Scriptures, and expound them in the *Synagogues* every *Sabbath* day, but the Scriptures then were nothing elſe, but the Laws of the Nation delivered unto them by *Moſes* himſelf, I believe it would do no hurt if the Laws of *England* alſo were often read and expounded in the ſeveral Congregations of *Engliſh-men* at times appointed, that they may know what to do; for they know already what to believe.

A. I think that neither the Preaching of *Friers*, nor *Monks*, nor of *Parochial Prieſts*, tended to teach men what, but whom, to believe; for the Power of the *Mighty* hath no foundation, but in the opinion and belief of the people, and the end which the *Pope* had in multiplying Sermons, was no other, but to prop and enlarge his own Authority over all Chriſtian Kings and States.

B. Within the ſame time, *that is*, between the time of the Emperour *Charles the Great* and of Kind *Edward* the Third of *England*, began their ſecond Policy, which was to bring Religion into an Art, and thereby to maintain all their Degrees

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of the *Roman Church* by Disputation, not only from the Scriptures, but also from the Phylosophy of *Aristotle*, both Moral and Natural, and to that end the *Pope* exhorted the said Emperour by Letter to erect Schools of all kinds of Literature, and from thence, began the Institution of Universities, for not long after the Universities began in *Paris*, and in *Oxford*: It is true that there were Schools in *England* before that time, in several places, for the instruction of Children in the Latine Tongue; that is to say, in the Tongue of the *Church*, but for an University of Learning there was none erected till that time, though it be not unlikely there might be then some that taught *Philosophy*, *Logick*, and other Arts, in divers Monastries, the *Monks* having little else to do but to study. After some Colledges were built to that purpose, it was not long before many more were added to them by the Devotion of *Princes* and *Bishops*, and other wealthy men and the Dicipline therein was confirmed by the *Popes* that then were, and abundance of Scholars sent thither by their friends to study, as to a place from whence the way was open and easy to preferment both in *Church* and *Commonwealth*. The profit the *Church* of *Rome* expected from them, and in effect received, was the Maintenance of the *Pope*'s Doctrine, and of his Authority over Kings and their Subjects, by School-Divines, who striving to make good many points of Faith incomprehensible, and calling in the Phylosophy of *Aristotle* to their assistance, wrote great Books of School-Divinity, which no

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man elſe, nor they themſelves were able to understand, as any man may conceive that ſhall conſider the writing of *Peter Lombard*, or *Scotus*, or of him that wrote Commentaries upon him, or of *Suarez*, or of any other School Divines of later times, which kind of Learning nevertheleſs hath been much admired by two ſorts of men, otherwiſe prudent enough; The one of which ſorts were thoſe that were already Devoted, and really affectionate to the *Roman Church*, for they believed the Doctrine before, but admired the Arguments, becauſe they underſtood them not, and yet found the Concluſions to their mind; The other ſort were negligent men, that had rather admire with others, than take the pains to examine, ſo that all ſorts of people were fully reſolved that both the Doctrine was true, and the *Pope*'s Authority no more then what was due to him. I ſee that a Chriſtian King, or State, how well ſoever provided he be, of Money and Arms, (where the *Church* of *Rome* hath ſuch authority) will have but a hard match of it, for want of men; for their Subjects will hardly be drawn into the Field, and fight with courage againſt their Conſciences.

A It is true that great rebellions have been raiſed by *Church-men* in the *Pope*'s quarrel againſt *Kings*, as in *England* againſt *King John*, and in *France* againſt *King Henry* the Fourth, wherein the *Kings* had a more conſiderable part on their ſides, than the *Pope* had on his, and ſhall always have ſo, if they have money; for there are but few,

whoſe

whose Consciences are so tender as to refuse money when they want it, but the great mischief done to *Kings* upon pretence of Religion, is when the *Pope* gives power to one *King* to Invade another.

B. I wonder how *King Henry* the Eighth so utterly extinguished the Authority of the *Pope* in *England*, and that without any Rebellion at home, or any invasion from abroad?

A. First, The *Priests*, *Monks*, and *Friars*, being in the height of their Power, were now, for the most part grown insolent and licentious, and thereby the force of their Arguments was now taken away by the scandal of their lives, which the Gentry, and men of good education, easily perceived, and the Parliament consisting of such persons, were therefore willing to take away their Power, and generally the Common people which for a long time had been in love with Parliaments were not displeased therewith. *Secondly*, The Doctrine of *Luther* beginning a little before, was now by a great many men of the greatest Judgments so well received, as that there was no hope to restore the *Pope* to his Power by Rebellion. *Thirdly*, The Revenue of the *Abbies* and all other *Religious Houses*, falling hereby into the *Kings* hands, and by him being disposed of to the most eminent Gentlemen in every County, could not but make them do their best to confirm themselves in the possession of them. *Fourthly*, *King Henry* was of a nature quick, and severe in the Punishing of such as should be the first to oppose his designs. *Lastly*, As to Invasion from abroad, it

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he *Pope* had given the *Kingdom* to another *Prince*, t had been in vain; for *England* is another manner of *Kingdom*, than *Navar*: Beſides the *French* and *Spaniſh* Forces were imployed at that time one againſt another; and though they had been at leaſure, they would have found perhaps no better Succeſs, than the *Spaniard* found afterwards in 1588. Nevertheleſs, notwithſtanding the Inſolence, Avarice, and Hypocriſy of the then *Clergy*, and notwithſtanding the *Doctrine* of *Luther*; if the *Pope* had not provoked the *King*, by endeavouring to croſs his Marriage with his Second Wife, his Authority might have remained in *England* till there had riſen ſome other Quarrel.

B. Did not the *Biſhops* that then were, and had taken an Oath, wherein was among other things, that they ſhould defend and maintain the Regal Rights of St. *Peter*, the words are *Regalia Sancti Petri*; which nevertheleſs ſome have ſaid, are *Regulas Sancti Petri*, (that is to ſay) St. *Peter's* Rules or Doctrine; and that the *Clergy* afterwards did read it, (being perhaps written in *Short-hand*) by a miſtake to the *Pope's* Advantage, *Regalia*. Did not (I ſay) the *Biſhops* oppoſe that Act of Parliament, againſt the *Popes*, and againſt the Taking of the *Oath of Supremacy?*

A. No, I do not find the *Biſhops* did many of them oppoſe the *King*; for having no Power without him, it had been great Imprudence to provoke his Anger: There was beſides a Controverſy in thoſe times between the *Pope* and the *Biſhops*; moſt of which did maintain, that they exerciſed

their Jurisdiction Episcopal in the Right of *God* as immediately as the *Pope* himself did Exercise the same over the whole *Church*; and because they saw, that by this Act of the King in Parliament, they were to hold their Power no more of the *Pope*, and never thought of holding it of the *King*, they were perhaps better content, to let the Act of Parliament pass in the Reign of *King Edward* the Sixth; the Doctrine of *Luther* had taken such great Root in *England*, that they threw out a great many of the *Pope's* new Articles of Faith; which *Queen Mary* succeeding him, restored again, together with all that had been abolished by *King Henry* the Eighth, saving (that which could not be restored) the Religious Houses: and the *Bishops*, and *Clergy* of *King Edward*, were partly burnt for Hereticks, partly fled, and partly recanted; and they that fled, betook themselves to those places beyond Sea, where the Reformed Religion was either protected, or not persecuted; who after the Decease of *Queen Mary*, returned again to Favour and Preferment under *Queen Elizabeth*; that restored the Religion of her Brother *King Edward*; and so it had continued to this day, excepting the Interruption made in this late Rebellion of the *Presbyterians*, and other *Democratical* Men. But thus the *Romish* Religion were now cast out by the Law, yet there were abundance of People, and many of them of the Nobility that still retained the Religion of their Ancestors; who as they were not much molested in points of Conscience, so they were not by their own Incli-

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nation very troubleſom to the Civil Government; but by the ſecret Practice of the *Jeſuits*, and other Emiſſaries of the *Roman Church*, they were made leſs quiet than they ought to have been; and ſome of them, to venture upon the moſt horrid Act that ever had been heard of before, I mean, upon the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*: And upon that account, the *Papiſts* in *England* have been looked upon, as Men that would not be ſorry for any Diſorders here, that might poſſibly make way to the reſtoring of the *Pope*'s Authority: and therefore, I named them for one of the Diſtempers of the State of *England*, in the time of our late *King Charles*.

B. I ſee that *Monſieur du Pleſis*, and Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of *Durham*, writing of the Progreſs of the *Pope*'s Power; and intituling their Books, one of them, *The Myſtery of Iniquity*, the other, *The Grand Impoſture*, were both in the right; for I believe, there was never ſuch another Cheat in the World: And I wonder that the *Kings*, and *States* of *Chriſtendom* never perceived it.

A. It is manifeſt, they did perceive it. How elſe durſt they make War againſt the *Pope*, and ſome of them take him out of *Rome* it ſelf, and carry him away Priſoner? But if they would have freed themſelves from his Tyranny, they ſhould have agreed together, and made themſelves every one (as *Henry* the 8*th*. did) Head of the *Church* within their own reſpective Dominions; but not agreeing, they let his Power continue, every one hoping to make uſe of it (when there ſhould be cauſe) againſt his Neighbor.

B. Now, as to the other Distemper by *Presbyterians:* How came their Power to be so great, being of themselves for the most part, but so many poor Schollars?

A. This Controversie between the *Papist*, and *Reformed Churches*, could not chuse but make every Man, to the best of his Power, examine by the *Scriptures*, which of them was in the Right; and to that end, they were Translated into *Vulgar Tongue:* whereas before, the Translation of them was not allowed, nor any Man to read them, but such as had expres's License so to do: For the *Pope* did concerning the *Scriptures*, the same that *Moses* did concerning *Mount Sinai*; *Moses* suffered no Man to go up to it, to hear *God*, speak, or gaze upon him, but such as he himself took with him; and the *Pope* suffered none to speak with *God* in the *Scriptures*, that had not some part of the *Pope*'s *Spirit* in him, for which he might be trusted.

B. Certainly, *Moses* did therein very wisely, and according to *God*'s own Commandment.

A. No doubt of it, and the Event it self hath made it since appear so; for after the *Bible* was Translated into *English*, every Man, nay every Boy and Wench that could read *English*, thought they spoke with *God* Almighty, and understood what he said; when by a certain Number of *Chapters* a Day, they had read the *Scriptures* once or twice over, the Reverence and Obedience due to the *Reformed Church* here, and to the *Bishops* and *Pastors* therein, was cast off; and every Man became a Judg of *Religion*, and an Interpreter of the *Scriptures* to himself.

B. Did

B. Did not the *Church* of *England* intend it ſhould be ſo? What other end could they have in recommending the *Bible* to me, if they did not mean I ſhould make it the Rule of my *Actions?* elſe they might have kept it (though open to themſelves, to me) Sealed up in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine*; and fed me out of it in ſuch meaſure, as had been requiſite for the Salvation of my Soul, and the *Churches* Peace.

A. I confeſs, this Licenſe of Interpreting the *Scripture*, was the cauſe of ſo many ſeveral Sects, as have lain hid till the beginning of the late *King's* Reign; and did then appear, to the Diſturbance of the *Common-Wealth.* But to return to the Story: Thoſe Perſons that fled for *Religion* in the time of *Queen Mary*, reſided, for the moſt part, in Places where the *Reformed Religion* was Profeſſed, and Governed by an *Aſſembly of Miniſters*, who alſo were not a little made uſe of (for want of better *Stateſmen*) in Points of *Civil Government*; which pleaſed ſo much the *Engliſh* and *Scotch Proteſtants* that lived amongſt them, that at their Return they wiſhed, there were the ſame Honour and Reverence given to the *Miniſtry* in their own Countries; and in *Scotland* (King *James* being then Young) ſoon (with the Help of ſome of the powerful Nobility) they brought it to paſs: Alſo, they that returned into *England* in the beginning of the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, endeavoured the ſame here; but could never effect it, till this laſt *Rebellion*, nor without the Help of the *Scots*; and it was no ſooner effected, bur it was defeated again by the other

Sects; which by the Preaching of the *Presbyterians*, and private Interpretation of *Scripture*, were grown numerous.

B. I know indeed, that in the beginning of the late War, the Power of the *Presbyterians* was so very great, that not only the Citizens of *London* were, almost all of them, at their *Devotion*; but also the greatest part of all other Cities and Market-Towns of *England*: But you have not yet told me, by what Art, and what Degrees they became so strong.

A. It was not their own Art alone that did it; but they had the Concurrence of a great many Gentlemen, that did no less desire a *Popular Government* in the *Civil State*, than these Ministers did in the *Church*: And as these did in the *Pulpit* draw the People to their Opinions, and to dislike of the *Church-Government*, *Canons*, and *Common-Prayer Book*; so did the other make them in love with *Democracie*, by their *Harangues* in the *Parliament*, and by their Discourse and Communication with People in the Country, continually extolling of *Liberty*, and inveighing against *Tyranny*, leaving the people to collect of themselves, that this *Tyranny* was the present *Government* of the *State*: And as the *Presbyterians* brought with them into their *Churches* their *Divinity* from the *Universities*, so did many of the Gentlemen bring their *Politicks* from thence into the *Parliament*; but neither of them did this very boldly in the time of *Q. Eliz.* And though it be not likely, that all of them did it out of Malice, but many of them out of Error; yet certainly the Chief Leaders

Leaders were ambitious *Miniſters*, and ambitious *Gentlemen*; the *Miniſters* envying the Authority of *Biſhops*, whom they thought leſs Learned. And the *Gentlemen* envying the *Privy-Council*, whom they thought leſs Wiſe than themſelves; for 'tis a hard matter for Men, who do all think highly of their own Wits, (when they have alſo acquired the Learning of the *Univerſity*) to be perſwaded, that they want any Ability requiſite for the Government of a *Common-Wealth*; eſpecially having read the Glorious Hiſtories, and the Sententious Politick of the Antient Popular Government of the *Greeks* & *Romans*; amongſt whom *Kings* were hated, and branded with the name of *Tyrants*; and Popular Government (though no *Tyrant* was ever ſo cruel, as a Popular Aſſembly) paſſed by the Name of *Liberty*. The *Presbyterian Miniſters*, in the beginning of the Reign of Q. *Eliz.* did not (becauſe they durſt not) publickly Preach againſt the Diſcipline of the *Church*; but not long after (by the Favor perhaps of ſome great Courtier) they went abroad Preaching in moſt of the Market-Towns of *England* (as the Preaching *Fryers* had formerly done) upon working Days in the Morning; in which theſe, and others of the ſame Tenets, that had charge of Souls both by the Manner and Matter of their Preaching, applyed themſelves wholly to the winning of the People, to a likeing of their Doctrines, and good opinion of their Perſons.

And firſt, for the manner of their Preaching; They ſo framed their Countenance and Geſture at the entrance into the Pulpit, and their Pronounciation,

both in their Prayer and Sermon; and used the *Scripture-phrase*, whether understood by the People or not, as that no *Tragedian* in the World could have Acted the part of a right Godly Man better than these did; insomuch, that a Man unacquainted with such Art, could never suspect any Ambitious Plot in them, to raise Sedition against the *State*, as they then had designed; or doubt, that the Vehemence of their Voice, (for the same word with the usual Pronunciation, had been of little force) and Forcedness of their Gesture and Looks, could arise from any thing else but Zeal to the Service of *God*. And by this Art they came into such Credit, that numbers of Men used to go forth of their own Parishes, and Towns, on working-days, leaving their Calling; and on *Sunday*, leaving their own *Churches*, to hear them Preach in other Places, and to despise their own and all other Preachers, that Acted not as well as they. And as for those *Ministers* that did not usually Preach, but instead of Sermons, did read to the People such *Homilies* as the *Church* had appointed; they esteemed and called them *Dumb Dogs*.

Secondly, For the Matter of their Sermons: Because the Anger of the People in the late *Roman* Usurpation was then fresh, they saw there could be nothing more Gracious with them, than to Preach against such other Points of the *Romish Religion*, as the *Bishops* had not yet condemned; that so receding farther from *Popery* than they did, they might with Glory to themselves, leave a Suspicion on the *Bishops*, as Men not yet well purged from *Idolatry*.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, before their Sermons their Prayer was or seemed to be *ex tempore*, which they pretended to be dictated by the Spirit of God within them, and many of the People believed or seemed to believe it, or any man might see that they did not take care before hand, what they should say in their Prayers: And from hence came a dislike of the *Common Prayer-Book*, which is a set form præmeditated: that men might see to what they were to say, *Amen*.

Fourthly, They did never in their Sermons, or but lightly inveigh against the Lucrative vices of Men of Trade or Handicraft, such as are faining, lying, couzening, Hypocrisie, and other uncharitableness (except want of Charity to their Pastor, and to the faithful, which was a great ease to the generality of Citizens, and the Inhabitants of *Market Towns*, and no little profit to themselves.

Fifthly, by preaching up an opinion, that men were to be assured of their Salvation, by the Testimony of their own *private Spirit*, meaning the Holy Ghost, dwelling within them: And from this opinion, the People, that found in themselves a sufficient hatred towards the *Papists*, and an ability to repeat the Sermons of these men at their coming home, made no doubt, but that they had all that was necessary, how fraudulently and spitefully soever they behaved themselves to their Neighbours, that were not reckoned amongst the Saints, and sometimes to those also.

Sixthly, They did indeed with great earnestness, and severity inveigh often against two Sins, Carnal

Luſt,& vain Swearing,which without queſtion,was very well done; but the Common people were thereby inclined to believe, that nothing elſe was Sin, but that which was forbidden in the 3*d*. and 7*th*. Commandment: For few Men do underſtand by the Name of *Luſt*, any other Concupiſcence than that which is forbidden in the 7 Commandment: for Men are not ordinarily ſaid to Luſt after another Man's Cattle,or other goods or poſſeſſions,& therefore never made much Scruple of the Acts of Fraud & Malice: but endeavored to keep themſelves from Uncleanneſs only,or at leaſt,from the Scandal of it: & whereas they did both in their Sermons & Writings maintain and inculcate,that the very firſt Motions of the Mind,that is to ſay,the delight Men and Women took in the ſight of one anothers Form,though they checked the proceeding thereof,ſo that it never grew up to be a Deſign, was nevertheleſs a Sin; they brought Young Men into Deſperation, and to think themſelves damn'd becauſe they could not (which no Man can, and is contrary to the Conſtitution of Nature) behold a delightful Object without Delight: And by this means they became Confeſſors to ſuch as were thus troubled in Conſcience, and were obeyed by them, as theſe Spiritual Doctors in all Caſes of Conſcience.

B. Yes, divers of them did Preach frequently againſt Oppreſſion.

A. 'Tis true, I had forgot that; but it was before ſuch as were free enough from it (I mean) the Common People; who would eaſily believe themſelves oppreſſed, but never Oppreſſors: And therefore, you

you may reckon this amongſt their Artificers, to make their People believe they were oppreſſed by the *King*, or perhaps by the *Biſhops*, or both, and inclined the meaner ſort to their Party afterward, when there ſhould be occaſion: But this was but ſparingly done in the time of Q. *Eliz.* whoſe Fear and Jealouſie they were afraid of. Nor had they as yet, any great Power in the *Parliament-Houſe*, whereby to call in queſtion her Prerogative by Petitions of Right, and other Devices, as they did afterwards when *Democratical Gentlemen* had received them into their Council, for the Deſign of changing the *Monarchial Government* into *Popular*, which they called *Liberty*.

B. Who could think, that ſuch Horrible Deſigns as theſe, could ſo eaſily and ſo long remain, covered with the Cloak of Godlineſs; for that they were moſt Impious Hypocrites, is manifeſt enough by the War theſe Proceedings ended in, and by the Impious Act in the War committed? But when began firſt to appear in *Parliament* the Attempt of *Popular Government*, and by whom?

A. As to the time of attempting the Change of Government from *Monarchical* to *Democratical*, we muſt diſtinguiſh: They did not challenge the Soveraignty in plain terms, and by that Name, till they had ſlain the *King*; nor the Rights thereof, altogether, by particular Heads, till the *King* was driven from *London* by Tumults, raiſed in the City againſt him, and retired for the ſecurity of his Perſon, to *York*; where he had not been many days, when they ſent unto him *Nineteen Propoſitions*, where-

whereof above a Dozen were Demands of ſeveral Powers, Eſſential parts of the Power Soveraign, but before that time they had demanded ſome of them (in a Petition which they called *a Petition of Right*) which nevertheleſs the King had granted them in a former Parliament: though he deprived himſelf thereby, not only of the Power to Levy Mony without their conſent, but alſo of his ordinary Revenue by Cuſtome of Tonnage and Poundage, and of the Liberty to put into Cuſtody ſuch men as he thought likely to diſturb the Peace, and raiſe Sedition in the Kingdom: As for the men that did this, 'tis enough to ſay, they were the Members of the laſt Parliament, and of ſome other Parliaments in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles*, and the end of the Reign of King *James*: To name them all is not neceſſary, farther then the Story ſhall require; moſt of them were Members of the Houſe of Commons, ſome few alſo of the Lords: But all ſuch as had a great Opinion of their ſufficiency in Politicks which they thought was not ſufficiently taken notice of by the King.

B. How could the Parliament, when the King had a great Navy, and a great number of Train'd Souldiers, and all the Magazines of Ammunition in his power, be able to begin the War.

A. The *King* had theſe things in his Right, but that ſignifies little, when they had the Cuſtody of the *Navy* and *Magazines*, and with them all the *Trained Souldiers*, and in a manner all the Subjects were by the Preaching of *Presbyterian Miniſters*

Miniſters and the ſeditious whiſpering of falſe and ignorant Politians, made his Enemies; and when the *King* could have no Money but what the *Parliament* ſhould give him, which you may be ſure ſhould not be enough to maintain his Legal Power, which they intended to take from him. And yet I think they would never have adventured into the Field but for that unluckly buſineſs of impoſing upon the *Scots* (who were all *Presbyterians*) our *Book of Common Prayer*, for I believe the *Engliſh* would never have taken well that the *Parliament* ſhould make War upon the *King* upon any provocation, unleſs it were in their own defence, in caſe the *King* ſhould firſt make War upon them, and therefore it behoved them to provoke the *King* that he might do ſomething that might look like Hoſtility: It hapned in the year 1637. that the *King* by the advice (as it is thought) of the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, ſent down a *Book of Common Prayer* into *Scotland*, not differing in ſubſtance from ours, nor much in words, beſides the putting of the word *Presbyter* for that of *Miniſter*, commanding it to be uſed (for Conformity to this *Kingdom*) by the miniſters there, for an ordinary form of *Divine Service*; this being read out, the Church at *Edinburgh*, cauſed ſuch a Tumult there, that he that read it had much adoe to eſcape with his life, and gave occaſion to the greateſt part of the *Nobility*, and others, to enter (by their own Authority) into a *Covenant* amongſt themſelves to put down *Epiſcopacy* without conſulting the *King*, which they preſently did, animated

ted thereto by their own Confidence, or by Assurance from some of the *Democratical English-Men*, that in former *Parliaments* had been the greatest Opposers of the *King*'s Interest, that the *King* would not be able to raise an Army to Chastise them, without calling a *Parliament*, which would be sure to favour them; for the thing which those *Democraticals* chiefly then aimed at, was to force the *King* to call a *Parliament*, which he had not done of ten Years before; as having found no help, but hinderance, to his Designs in the *Parliaments* he had formerly called. However contrary to their Expectation, by the help of his better-affected Subjects of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, he made a shift to raise a sufficient Army, to have reduced the *Scots* to their former Obedience, if it had proceeded to Battle: And with this Army he marched himself into *Scotland*, where the *Scotch*-Army was also brought into the Field against him, as if they meant to Fight; But then the *Scotch* sent to the *King* for leave to treat by *Commissioners* on both sides, and the *King* willing to avoid the Destruction of his own Subjects condescended to it; the issue was Peace, and the *King* thereupon went to *Edinburgh*, and passed an *Act* of *Parliament* there to their Satisfaction.

B. Did he not then confirm *Episcopacy*?

A. No, but yielded to the abolishing of it; but by the means, the *English* were crossed in their Hope of a *Parliament*: But the *Democraticals*, formerly Opposers of the *King*'s Interest, ceased not to endeavour still to put the two Nations into a War,

War, to the end the *King* might buy the *Parliament*'s Help at no leſs a Price than *Soveraignty* it ſelf.

B. But what was the Cauſe, that the *Gentry* and *Nobility* of *Scotland*, were ſo averſe from *Epiſcopacy?* For I can hardly believe, that their Conſciences were extraordinarily tender, nor that they were ſo very great *Divines*, as to know what was the true *Church-Diſcipline* Eſtabliſhed by our *Saviour*, and his *Apoſtles*; nor yet ſo much in love with their *Miniſters*, as to be over-ruled by them in the Government either *Eccleſiaſtical* or *Civil*; for in their Lives they were juſt as other Men are, Purſuers of their own Intereſts and Preferments; wherein they were not more oppoſed by the *Biſhops*, than by their *Presbyterian-Miniſters*.

A. Truly, I do not know; I cannot enter into other Men's Thoughts, farther than I am led by the Conſideration of *Human Nature* in general: But upon this Conſideration I ſee, *Firſt*, That Men of Antient Wealth and Nobility, are not apt to brook, that poor Schollars ſhould (as they muſt, when they are made *Biſhops*) be their Fellows. *Secondly*, That from the Emulation of Glory between the *Nations*, they be willing to ſee their *Nation* afflicted with *Civil War*; & might hope, by aiding the Rebels here, to acquire ſome power over the *Engliſh*; at leaſt, ſo far as to eſtabliſh here the *Presbyterian* Diſcipline; which was alſo one of the points they afterwards openly demanded. *Laſtly*, They might hope for in the War, ſome great ſum of Money as a Reward

reward of their assistance, besides great Booty which they afterwards obtained, but whatsoever was the cause of their hatred to *Bishops*, the pulling of them down was not all they aimed at; if it had (now that *Episcopacy* was abolished by *Act* of *Parliament*) they would have rested satisfied, which they did not; for after the *King* was returned to *London*, the *English* *Presbyterians* and *Democraticals*, by whose favour they had put down *Bishops* in *Scotland*, thought it reason to have the assistance of the *Scotch* for the pulling down of *Bishops* in *England*, and in order thereunto, they might perhaps deal with the *Scots* secretly to rest unsatisfied with that pacification which they were before contented with, howsoever it was, not long after the *King* was returned to *London* they sent up to some of their friends at *Court* a certain Paper containing (as they pretended) the Articles of the said Pacification: a false and Scandalous Paper, which was by the *King*'s Command burnt (as I have heard) publickly, and so both parts returned to the same Condition as they were in when the *King* went down with his Army.

B. And so there was a great deal of Money cast away to no purpose; but you have not told me who was *General* of that Army.

A. I told you the *King* was there in Person, he that commanded under him was the *Earl* of *Arundel*; a man that wanted not either Valour or Judgement: but to proceed to Battle, or to Treaty, was not in his Power but in the *King*'s.

B. He

B. He was a man of a moſt Noble and Loyal Family, and whoſe Anceſtors had formerly given a great overthrow to the *Scots* in their own Countrey, and in all likelihood he might have given them the like now, if they had Fought.

A. He might indeed, but it had been but a kind of Superſtition to have made him *General* upon that account, though many *Generals* heretofore have been choſen for the good luck of their Anceſtors in the like occaſions. In the long War between *Athens* and *Sparta* a *General* of the *Athenians* by Sea, won many Victories againſt the *Spartans*, for which cauſe after his death they choſe his Son for *General* with ill ſucceſs: The *Romans* that Conquered *Carthage* by the Valor and Conduct of *Scipio*, when they were to make War again in *Africk* againſt *Caſar*, choſe another *Scipio*, a man Valiant and Wiſe enough, but he periſhed in the imployment. And to come home to our own Nation, the *Earl* of *Eſſex* made a fortunate Expedition to *Cadiz*, but his Son ſent afterwards to the ſame place could do nothing. 'Tis but a fooliſh Superſtition to hope that God has entailed ſucceſs in War, upon a Name or Family.

B. After the Pacification broken, what ſucceeded next?

A. The *King* ſent *Duke Hamilton* with Commiſſion and Inſtructions into *Scotland* to call a *Parliament* there, (but all was to no purpoſe) and to uſe all the means he could otherwiſe; but the *Scots* were reſolved to raiſe a Army, and to enter into *England*, to deliver (as they pretended) their grievances

grievances to his *Majesty* in a Petition because the *King* (they said) being in the hands of evil Councellors, they could not otherwise obtain their right; but the truth is, they were otherwise animated to it by the *Democratical*, and *Presbyterian English*, with a promise of Reward, and hope of Plunder: some have said that *Duke Hamilton* also did rather encourage them to, than deterr them from the Expedition; as hoping by the disorder of the two *Kingdoms* to bring to pass that which he had formerly been accused to endeavour to make himself *King* of *Scotland*; but I take this to have been a very uncharitable Censure upon so little ground to judge so hardly of a man, that afterwards lost his life in seeking to procure the liberty of the *King* his Master. This resolution of the *Scots* to enter into *England* being known: the *King* wanting Money to raise an Army against them, was now, as his Enemies here wished, constrained to call a *Parliament* to meet at *Westminster* the 13 of *April* 1640.

B. Methinks a *Parliament* of *England*, if upon any occasion should furnish the *King* with Money now in a War against the *Scots*, out of an inveterate Disaffection to that Nation that had always taken part with their Enemies the *French*, and which alwayes esteemed the Glory of *England* for an abatement of their own.

A. 'Tis indeed commonly seen that Neighbour Nations envy one anothers Honour, and that the less potent bears the greater malice; but that hinders them not from agreeing in those things which their common ambition leads them to: And there-

herefore the *King* found for the War, but the ſs help, from this *Parliament*, and moſt of the Members thereof in their ordinary diſcourſes eemed to wonder, why the *King* ſhould make a War upon *Scotland*; and in that *Parliament* ſome-me called them their *Brethren the Scots*, but in-ead of taking the *King*'s buſineſs, which was the aiſing of Money, into their conſideration, they ell upon the redreſſing of grievances, and eſpecially uch way of levying money as in the laſt inter-niſſion of *Parliament* the *King* had been forced o uſe, ſuch as were *Ship money*, for *Knighthood*, nd ſuch other Vails (as one may call them) of he *Regal Office* which Lawyers had found juſti-iable by the antient Records of the *Kingdom*; be-ides they fell upon the Actions of divers *Mini-ters* of *State*, though done by the *Kings* own Com-mand and Warrant, inſomuch, that before they were called, the Money which was neceſſary for his War (if they had given Money as they ne-ver meant to do) had come too late; it is true, here was mention of a ſum of Money to be given he *King* by way of Bargain, for relinquiſhing his Right to *Ship-money*, and ſome other of his Prero-gatives; but ſo ſeldom, and without determining ny Sum, that it was in vain for the *King* to hope for any ſucceſs; and therefore on the Fifth of *May* following he diſſolved them.

B. Where then had the *King* Money to raiſe and pay his Army?

A. He was forced the ſecond time to make uſe of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, who contributed ſome more

more, ſome leſs, according to the greatneſs of their Eſtates, but amongſt them all they made up a very ſufficient Army.

B. It ſeems then that the ſame Men that croſſed his buſineſs in the *Parliament*, now out of *Parliament* advanced it all they could, what was the reaſon of that?

A. The greateſt part of the Lords in *Parliament* and the Gentry throughout *England* were more affected to *Monarchy* than to a *Popular Government*, but ſo as not to endure to hear of the *King*'s abſolute Power, which made them in time of *Parliament* eaſily to condeſcend to abridg it, and bring the Government to a mixt *Monarchy*, as they called it, wherein the abſolute Sovereignty ſhould be divided between the *King*, the *Houſe of Lords*, and the *Houſe of Commons*.

B. But how if they cannot agree?

A. I think they never thought of that, but I am ſure they never meant the Soveraignty ſhould be wholly either in one or both *Houſes*; beſides they were loath to deſert the *King* when he was Invaded by Forreiners; for the *Scots* were eſteemed by them as a Forrein Nation.

B. It is ſtrange to me that *England* and *Scotland* being but one Iſland, and their Language almoſt the ſame, & being Governed by one *King*, ſhould be thought Forreiners to one another, the *Romans* were Maſters of many Nations, and to oblige them the more to obey the Edicts of the Law ſent unto them by the City of *Rome*, they thought fit to make them all *Romans*; and out of divers Nations

ons, as *Spain*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France*, to advance some, that they thought worthy, even to be *Senators* of *Rome*, and to give every one of the Common People the Priviledge of the *City* of *Rome*, by which they were protected from the Contumelies of other Nations where they resided, why were not the *Scoth* and *Engliſh* in like manner united unto one People?

A. King *James* at his first coming to the Crown of *England* did endeavour it, but could not prevail; but for all that I believe the *Scotch* have now as many priviledges in *England* as any Nation had in *Rome* of those which were so (as you say) made *Romans*; for they are all *Naturaliz'd*, and have right to buy Land in *England* to them and their Heirs.

B. 'Tis true, of them that were born in *Scotland* after the time that King *James* was in possession of the *Kingdom* of *England*.

A. There be very few now that were born before. But why have they a better right that were born after than they that were born before?

B. Because they were born Subjects to the *King* of *England*, and the rest not.

A. Were not the rest born Subjects to *King James?* And was not he *King* of *England*.

B. Yes, but not then.

A. I understand not the subtilty of the Distinction, but upon what Law is that distinction grounded? Is there any Statute to that purpose?

B. I cannot tell, I think not, but it is grounded upon Equity.

A. I

A. I see little Equity in this, that those Nations that are bound to equal obedience to the same *King* should not have equal Priviledges; and now seeing there be so very few born before King *James*'s coming in; What greater Priviledges had those Ingrafted *Romans* by their Naturalization in the State of *Rome*, or in the State of *England*, the *English* themselves more than the *Scotch*?

B. Those *Romans*, when any of them were in *Rome*, had their voice in the making of Laws.

A. And the *Scotch* have their *Parliaments* wherein their assent is required to the Law there made, which is as good; Have not many of the *Provinces* of *France* their several *Parliaments*, and several Constitutions? Yet they are all equally Natural Subjects to the *King* of *France*. And therefore for my part, I think they were mistaken both *English* and *Scotch* in calling one another Forreiners. However that be, the *King* had a very sufficient Army wherewith he marched towards *Scotland*, and by that time he was come to *York*, the *Scotch* Army was drawn up to the Frontiers, and ready to march into *England*, (which also they presently did) giving out all the way, that their march should be without damage to the Country, and that their Errand was onely to deliver a Petition to the *King* for the redress of many pretended Injuries they had received from such of the Court whose Counsel the *King* most followed: so they passed through *Northumberland* quietly, till they came to a Ford in the River of *Tine* a little above *Newcastle*, where

where they found ſome little oppoſition from a party of the *King*'s Army ſent thither to Stop them, whom the *Scots* eaſily maſtered, and as ſoon as they were over, ſeized upon *Newcaſtle*; and coming farther on, upon the City of *Dureſme*, and ſent to the *King* to deſire a Treaty, which was granted, and the Commiſſioners on both ſides met at *Rippon*, the concluſion was, that all ſhould be referred to the *Parliament* which the *King* ſhould call to meet at *Weſtminſter* the third of *November* following in the ſame year 1640. And thereupon the *King* returned to *London*.

B. So the Armies were disbanded.

A. No, The *Scotch* Army was to be defrayed by the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Dureſme*, and the *King* was to pay his own till the disbanding of both ſhould be agreed upon in *Parliament*.

B. So in effect both the Armies were maintained at the *King*'s charge, and the whole Controverſie to be deſided by a *Parliament*, almoſt wholly *Preſbyterian*, and as Partial to the *Scotch* as themſelves could have wiſhed.

A. And yet for all this they durſt not preſently make War upon the *King*; there was ſo much yet left of Reverence to him in the Hearts of the People, as to have made them odious if they had declared what they intended, they muſt have ſome colour or other to make it be believed, that the *King* made War firſt upon the *Parliament*. And beſides, they had not yet ſufficiently diſgraced him in Sermons and Pamphlets, nor removed from about him thoſe they thought could beſt counſel him, there-

therefore they resolved to proceed with him like skilful hunters, First to single him out by men disposed in all parts to drive him into the open field, and then in case he should not seem to turn head to call that making a War against the *Parliament*. And first, They called in question such as had either Preached, or written, in defence of those Rights which belonging to the *Crown* they meant to usurp, and take from the *King* to themselves, whereupon some few Writers and Preachers were imprisoned, or forced to fly: The King not protecting these, they proceeded to call in question some of the King's own Actions in his Ministers, whereof they Imprisoned some, and some went beyond Sea, and whereas certain persons having endeavoured by Book and Sermons to raise Sedition, and committed other Crimes of high Nature, had therefore been censured by the Kings Council in the *Star-Chamber* and Imprisoned; the *Parliament* by their own Authority, to try (it seems) how the King and the People would take it (for their Persons were inconsiderable) ordered their setting at Liberty, which was accordingly done, with great Applause of the People that flocked about them in *London* in manner of a Triumph. This being done without resistance, the Kings Right to Ship-mony ——

B. Ship-mony! What's that?

A. The *Kings* of *England* for the defence of the Sea had power to Tax all the Counties of *England* whether they were Maritine or not, for the Building and furnishing of Ships, which Tax the

King

King, had then lately found cauſe to impoſe, and the *Parliament* exclaimed againſt it as an oppreſſion: and one of their Members that had been Taxed but 20 ſhillings (mark the Oppreſſion, a *Parliament-man* of 500*lb.* a year Land, Taxed at 20 ſhillings) they were forced to bring it to a Trial at Law, he refuſing payment, and he was caſt again: When all the Judges of *Weſtminſter* were demanded their Opinions concerning the legality of it, of Twelve, that there are, it was judged Legal by Ten; for which though they were not puniſhed, yet they were affrighted by the *Parliament*.

B. What did the *Parliament* mean when they did exclaim againſt it as illegal? Did they mean it was againſt *Statute Law*, or againſt the Judgments of Lawyers given heretofore, which are commonly called *Reports?* or did they mean it was againſt *Equity*, which I take to be the ſame with the *Law of Nature?*

A. It is a hard matter, or rather impoſſible to know what other Men mean, eſpecially, if they be craſty, but ſure I am *Equity* was not their Ground for their pretence of Immunity from Contributing to the *King*, but at their own pleaſure, for when they have laid the Burthen of defending the whole *Kingdom*, and Governing it upon any perſon whatſoever; there is little *Equity* he ſhould depend on others for the means of performing it, or if he do, they are his Soveraign, not he theirs, and as for the *Common Law*, contained in *Reports*, they have no force but what the *King* gives them, beſides it were unreaſonable that a corrupt or

fooliſh Judge's unjuſt Sentence ſhould by any time, how long ſoever, obtain the authority and force of a Law, but amongſt the *Statute Laws* there is one called *Magna Charta*, or *The great Charter of the Liberties of Engliſh men*, in which there is one Article that no man ſhall be diſtrained, that is, have his Goods taken from him otherwiſe than by the Law of the Land.

B. Is not that a ſufficient ground for their purpoſe?

A. No, that leaves us in the ſame doubt which you think it cleares, for, where was the Law of the Land then? Did they mean another *Magna Charta* that was made by ſome *King* more ancient yet? No, that Statute was made not to exempt any man from payments to the Publick, but for ſecuring of every man from ſuch as abuſed the King's Power by ſurreptitious obtaining of the King's Warrants, to the oppreſſing of thoſe againſt whom he had any Suite in Law: but it was conducing to the end of ſome rebellious Spirits in this Parliament to have it interpreted in the wrong ſenſe, and ſuitable enough to the underſtanding of the reſt, or moſt part of them to let it paſs.

B. You make the members of that *Parliament* very ſimple men, and yet the People choſe them for the wiſeſt of the Land.

A. If Craft be Wiſedom they were wiſe enough, but Wiſe as I define it, is he that knows how to bring his buſineſs to paſs without the Aſſiſtance of Knavery and ignoble ſhifts, by the ſole ſtrength of his good contrivance, a Fool may win from a better

better Gameſter by the advantage of falſe Dice, and Packing of Cards.

B. According to your definition there be few wiſe men now adays, ſuch Wiſdom is a kind of Gallantry that few are brought up to; and moſt think Folly, fine Cloaths, great Feathers, Civility towards men that will not ſwallow Injuries, and Injury towards them that will, is the preſent Gallantry; but when the *Parliament* afterwards having gotten the Power into their hands levied money to their own uſe, What ſaid the People to that?

A. What elſe, but that it was legal, and to be paid as being Impoſed by conſent of *Parliament*.

B. I have heard often that they ought to pay what was impoſed by conſent of *Parliament* to the uſe of the *King*, but to their own uſe, never before; I ſee by this it is eaſier to gull the multitude than any one man amongſt them, for what one man that has his Natural Judgment depraved by accident, could be ſo eaſily couſened in a matter that concerns his Purſe, had he not been paſſionately carried away by the reſt to change of Government, or rather to a Liberty of every one to Govern himſelf.

A. Judge then what kind of men ſuch a multitude of Ignorant People were like to elect for the *Burgeſes*, and *Knights* of *Shires*.

B. I can make no other Judgment, but that they who were then elected, were juſt ſuch as had been elected for former *Parliaments*, and as are like to be elected for *Parliaments* to come

for the Common People have been, and always will be ignorant of their Duty to the Publick, as never meditating any thing, but their particular Interest, in other things following their immediate Leaders, which are either the Preachers, or the most potent of the Gentlemen that dwell amongst them as Common Souldiers for the most part follow their Captains, if they like them; If you think the late miseries have made them wiser, that will quickly be forgot, and then we shall be no wiser than we were?

A. Why may not Men be taught their Duty? that is, the Science of Just and Unjust, as divers other Sciences have been taught, from true Principles and Demonstrations? and much more easily than any of those *Preachers* and *Democratical Gentlemen* could, *Rebellion* and *Treason*.

B. But who can teach what none have learned? or if any Man hath been so singular as to have studied the Science of Justice and Equity, how can he teach it safely when it is against the Interest of those that are in possession of the Power to hurt him?

A. The Rules of the Just and Unjust sufficiently demonstrated, and from Principles evident to the meanest capacity have not been wanting, and notwithstanding the obscurity of their Author, have shined not only in this, but in forreign Countries to men of good Education, but they are few in respect of the rest of men, whereof many cannot read; many though they can have no leasure, and of them that have leasure, the greatest part have their

their minds wholly imployed and taken up by their private buſineſſes or pleaſures: ſo that it is impoſſible that the Multitude ſhould ever learn their Duty but from the Pulpit, and upon *Holydays*, but then, and from thence it is that they learned their Diſobedience; and therefore the light of that Doctrine has been hitherto covered and kept under; hereby a Cloud of Adverſaries which no private man's reputation can break through, without the Authority of the *Univerſities*, but from the *Univerſities* came all thoſe *Preachers* that taught the contrary. The *Univerſities* have been to this Nation as the *Wooden-Horſe* was to the *Trojans*;

B. Can you tell me why, and when the *Univerſities* here firſt began?

A. It ſeems, for the time, they began in the Reign of the Emperour *Charles the Great*, before which time I doubt not but there were many *Grammar Schools* for the *Latine Tongue*, which was the Natural Language of the *Roman Church*, but for *Univerſities*, that is to ſay, Schools for the Science in general, and eſpecially for *Divinity*, it is manifeſt that the Inſtitution of them was recommended by the *Pope's* Letter to the Emperor *Charles the Great*, and recommended farther, by a Council held in his time, I think, at *Chal. ſur Saone*, and not long after was erected an *Univerſity* at *Paris*, and the *Colledge* called *Univerſity Colledge* at *Oxford*, and ſo by degrees ſeveral *Biſhops*, *Noblemen*, and Rich men, and ſome *Kings* and *Queens* contributing thereunto, the *Univerſities* at laſt obtained their preſent Splendor.

B. But what was the *Popes* design in it?

A. What other design was he like to have, but what you heard before? the advancement of his own Authority in the Countries where the *Universities* were erected? There they learned to Dispute for him, and with unintelligible Distinctions to blind mens Eyes, whilst they enchroached upon the Rights of *Kings*; and it was an evident Argument of that Design, that they fell in hand with the work so quickly; for the first Rector of the *University* of *Paris*, as I have read some where, was *Peter Lombard*, who first brought into them the Learning called *School Divinity*, and was seconded by *John Scot* of *Duns*, who lived in, or near the same time, whom any Ingenious Reader not knowing what was the design would judge to have been the most egregious Blockhead in the world? so obscure and senseless are their Writings: And from these the School-men that succeeded learnt the trick of Imposing what they list upon their Readers, and declining the force of true Reason by verbal Forks; I mean distinctions that signifie nothing, but serve only to astonish the multitude of ignorant men: as for the understanding Readers they were so few, that these new sublime Doctors cared not what they thought, these School men were to make good all the Articles of Faith which the *Pope* from time to time should command to be believed: Amongst which there were very many inconsistent with the Rights of *Kings*, and other Civil *Soveraigns*, as asserting to the *Pope* all Authority whatsoever, they should declare

declare to be neceſſary *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, (that is to ſay) *In order to Religion.*

From the *Univerſities* alſo it was that Preachers proceeded, and were poured out into City and Country to terrify the People into an abſolute Obedience to the *Pope's Canons and Commands*, which for fear of wakening *Kings* and *Princes* too much, they durſt not yet call them *Laws.*

From the *Univerſities* it was that the Phyloſophy of *Ariſtotle* was made an ingredient to Religion, as ſerving for a Salve to a great many abſurd Articles concerning the Nature of Chriſts Body, and the State of Angels and Saints in Heaven: which Articles they thought fit to have believ'd becauſe they bring ſome of them profit, and others Reverence to the Clergy, even to the meaneſt of them; for when they ſhall have made the People believe that the meaneſt of them can make the Body of Chriſt: Who is there that will not both ſhew them Reverence, and be Liberal to them or to the Church, eſpecially in the time of their ſickneſs, when they think they make and bring to them their Saviour?

B. But what advantage to them in theſe Impoſtures was the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle?*

A. They have made more uſe of his Obſcurity than his Doctrine, for none of the Ancient Phyloſophers Writings are Comparable to thoſe of *Ariſtotle*, for their aptneſs to puzzle and entangle men with words, and to breed Diſputation, which muſt at laſt be ended in the Determination of the Church of *Rome.* And in the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*

Stotle they made use of many Points. As First, the Doctrine of separated Essenses.

B. What are separated Essenses?

A. Separated Beings.

B. Separated from what?

A. From every thing that is.

B. I cannot understand the Being of any thing which I understand not to Be: But what can they make of that.

A. Very much in Questions concerning the Nature of God, and concerning the Estate of Mans Soul after Death, in Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, by which you and every Man knows how great Obedience, and how much money they gain from the Common People, whereas *Aristotle* holdeth the Soul of Man to be the first giver of Motion to the Body, and consequently to it self: they make use of that in the Doctrine of Free Will, what and how they gain by that, I will not say.

He holdeth forth, that there be many things that come to pass in this World, from no necessity of Causes, but meer Contingency, Causalty and Fortune.

B. Methinks in this they make God stand Idle, and to be a meer Spectator in the Games of Fortune; for what God is the cause of must needs come to pass. And in my Opinion nothing else; but because there must be some Ground for Justice of the Eternal Torment of the Damned; perhaps it is this, That Mens Wills and Propensions are not (they think) in the hands of God, but of themselves

selves. And in this also I see something conducing to the Authority of the Church.

A. This is not much, nor was *Aristotle* of such Credit with them, but that when his Opinion was against theirs, they could slight him; whatsoever he says is impossible in Nature, they can prove well enough to be possible from the Almighty Power of God, who can make Bodies to be in one and the self same place, and one Body to be in many Places at the same time; if the Doctrine of Transubstantiation require it: though *Aristotle* deny it, I like not the Design of drawing Religion into an Art; whereas it ought to be a Law. And though not the same in all Countries, yet in every Country indisputable? nor that they teach it not as Arts ought to be taught, by shewing first the meaning of their Terms, and then deriving from them the truth they would have us believe. Nor that their Terms are for the most part unintelligible: though to make it seem rather want of Learning in the Reader, than want of fair dealing in themselves; they are for the most part *Latin* and *Greek* words wryed a little the point towards the Native Languages of the several Countries where they are used. But that which is most intollerable is, That all Clerks are forced to make as if they believe them: If they mean to have any Church Preferment, the Keys whereof are in the Popes Hands; and the Common People whatsoever they believe of those subtile Doctrines, are never esteemed better Sons of the Church for their Learning. There is but one way there to Salvation, that is, Extraordina-

ry Devotion and Liberality to the Church, and readiness for the Churches sake, if it be required to fight against their Natural and Lawful Sovereigns.

B. I see what use they make of *Aristotles Logick*, *Physick*, and *Metaphysicks*: But I see not yet how his *Politicks* can serve their turn.

A. Nor I, It has (I think) done them no Good, though it has done us here much hurt by Accident; for men grown weary at last of the Insolence of the Priests, and examining the Truths of those Doctrines that were put upon them, began to search the sense of the Scriptures as they are in the Learned Languages; and consequently Studying *Greek* and *Latin*, became acquainted with the Democratical Principles of *Aristotle* and *Cicero*, and from the Love of their Eloquence, fell in Love with their Politicks, and that more and more, till it grew into the Rebellion we now talk of, without any other advantage to the *Roman* Church, but that it was awakening to us, whom since we broke out of their Net in the time of *Henry* 8. they have continually endeavoured to recover.

B. What have they got by teaching of *Aristotles Ethicks*?

A. It is some advantage to them, that neither the Morals of *Aristotle*, nor of any other, have done them any harm, nor us any good. Their Doctrine have caused a great deal of dispute concerning Vertue and Vice, but no knowledge of what they are, nor any method of attaining Vertue, nor of avoiding Vice.

The

The end of Moral Philoſophy, is to teach Men of all ſorts their Duty, both to the Publick, and to one another. They eſtimate Vertue partly by a Mediocrity of the Paſſions of Men, and partly by that, that they are praiſed; whereas it is not the much or little praiſe that makes an Action Vertuous, but the Cauſe; nor much or little blame that makes an Action Vitious, but its being unconformable to the Laws, in ſuch men as are ſubject to the Law; or its being unconformable to Equity or Charity in all Men whatſoever.

B. It ſeems you make a difference between the *Ethicks* of *Subjects*, and the *Ethicks* of *Sovereigns.*

A. So I do: The Vertue of a *Subject* is comprehended wholly in obedience to the Laws of the Commonwealth. To obey the Laws is Juſtice and Equity, which is the Law of Nature; and conſequently is Civil Law in all Nations of the World; and nothing is Injuſtice or Iniquity, otherwiſe then it is againſt the Law: likewiſe to obey the Law is the Prudence of a *Subject*; for without ſuch obedience the Commonwealth (which is every *Subjects* Safety and Protection) cannot ſubſiſt. And though it be Prudence alſo in private men, juſtly and moderately to enrich themſelves; yet craftily to withhold from the Publick, or defraud it of ſuch part of the Wealth as is by *Law* required, is no ſign of Prudence, but of want of knowledge of what is neceſſary for their own defence.

The Vertues of Soveraigns are ſuch as tend to the maintenance of Peace at Home, and to the

Reſiſtance

Reſiſtance of Forreign Enemies. Fortitude is a Royal Vertue, and though it be neceſſary in ſuch private men as ſhall be Souldiers; yet for other men the leſs they dare the better it is, both for the Commonwealth, and for themſelves. Frugality (though perhaps you will think it ſtrange) is alſo a Royal Vertue, for it increaſes the publick ſtock, which cannot be too great for the Publick Uſe, nor any man too ſparing of what he has intruſt for the good of others. Liberality alſo is a Royal Vertue, for the Commonwealth cannot be well ſerv'd without Extraordinary Diligence and Service of Miniſters, and great Fidelity to their Soveraign, who ought therefore to be incouraged and eſpecially thoſe that do him ſervice in the Wars. In ſumm, all Actions or Habits are to be eſteemed Good or Evil, by their Cauſes and Uſefulneſs in reference to the Commonwealth, and not by their *Mediocrity*, nor by their being Commended; for ſeveral men praiſe ſeveral Cuſtomes, and that which is vertue with one, is blam'd by others and contrarily, what one calls Vice, another calls Vertue as their preſent Affections led them.

B. Methinks you ſhould have placed amongſt the Vertues, that which in my Opinion is the greateſt of all Vertues, *Religion*.

A. So I have, though it ſeems you did not obſerve it: But whether do we Digreſs from the way we were in?

B. I think you have not Digreſſed at all; for I ſuppoſe your purpoſe was to acquaint me with the Hiſtory, not ſo much of thoſe Actions that paſt in the

the time of the late Troubles, as of their Causes, and of the Counsels, and Artifices by which they were brought to pass. There be divers men that have written the History, out of whom I might have Learned what they did, and somewhat also of the Contrivance: but I find little in them of it. I would ask therefore, since you were pleased to enter into this Discourse at my request; be pleased also to inform me after my own method. And for the danger of Confusion that may arise from that, I will take care to bring you back to the place from whence I drew you: for I well remember where it was.

A. Well then, to your Question concerning Religion, inasmuch as I told you, that Vertue is comprehended in obedience to the Laws of the Commonwealth, whereof Religion is one, I have placed Religion amongst the Vertues.

B. Is Religion then the Law of a Commonwealth?

A. There is no Nation in the World, whose Religion is not established, and receives not its Authority from the Laws of that Nation. It is true that the Law of God receives no obedience from the Laws of Men: but because men can never by their own Wisdom come to the knowledg of what God hath spoken and commanded to be observed, nor be obliged to obey the Laws, whose Author they know not: they are to acquiesce in some humane Authority or other: So that the Question will be, Whether a man ought in matter of Religion, (that is to say) when there is question of his Duty to God and

and the King, to rely upon the Preaching of their Fellow Subjects, or of a Stranger, or upon the Voice of the Law?

B. There is no great difficulty in that point, for there is none that Preach here, or any where else, at least ought to Preach, but such as have Authority so to do, from him or them, that have the Sovereign Power: So that if the King give us leave, you or I may as lawfully Preach as them that do, and I believe we should perform that Office a great deal better than they, that preached us into Rebellion.

A. The Church Morals are in many points very different from these that I have here set down for the Doctrine of *Vertue* and *Vice*, and yet without any conformity with that of *Aristotle*, for in the *Church* of *Rome*, the principle Vertues are to obey their Doctrine, though it be Treason, and that is to be Religious, to be beneficial to the *Clergy*, that is their Piety and Liberality, and to believe upon their word, that which a man knows in his Conscience to be false, which is the Faith that they require: I could name a great many more such Points of their Morals, but that I know you know them already, being so well versed in the cases of Conscience written by their School-men, who measure the Goodness and Wickedness of all Actions by their Congruity with the Doctrine of the *Roman Clergy*.

B. But what is the *Moral Phylopsophy* of the *Protestant Clergy* in *England*?

A. So much as they shew of it in their Life and Con-

Converſation, is for the moſt part very good, and of very good example, much better than their Writings.

B. It happen many times that men live honeſtly for fear, who if they had Power would live according to their own Opinions; that is, if their Opinions be not right, Unrighteouſly.

A. Do the *Clergy* in *England* pretend as the *Pope* does, or as the *Preſbyterians* do, to have a right from God immediately to Govern the *King* and his *Subjects* in all points of Religion and Manners? if they do, you cannot doubt but that if they had Number and Strength (which they are never like to have) they would attempt to attain that Power, as the others have done.

B. I would be glad to ſee a *Syſtem* of the preſent morals written by ſome Divine of good Reputation and Learning, and of the late *King's* party.

A. I think I can recommend unto you the beſt that is extant, and ſuch a one as except a few paſſages that I miſlike) is very well worth your reading: the Title of it is, *The whole Duty of Man, laid down in a plain and familiar way.* And yet I dare ſay, that if the *Perſbyterian* Miniſters, even thoſe of them that were the moſt diligent Preachers of the late *Sedition*, were to be tried by it they would go near to be found *Not Guilty.* He has divided the *Duty of Man* into three great Branches. *His Duty to God, to Himſelf,* and *to his Neighbour.* In his *Duty to God* he puts the acknowledgment of him in his *Eſſence,* and his *Attributes*

bates, and, in believing of his *Word*, his *Attributes* are *Omnipotence*, *Omniscience*, *Infiniteness*, *Justice*, *Truth*, *Mercy*, and all the rest that are found in *Scripture*; Which of these did not those Seditious Preachers acknowledg equally with the best of *Christians*? The Word of God are the Books of *Holy Scripture* received for *Canonical* in *England*.

B. They received the word of God, but 'tis according to their own Interpretation.

A. According to whose Interpretation was it received by the *Bishops* and the rest of the Loyal party but their own? He puts for another *Duty* Obedience and submission to God's Will. Did any of them, nay, did any Man living, do any thing, at any time, against God's Will?

B. By God's Will I suppose he means there his revealed Will (that is to say) his Commandments, which I am sure they did most horribly break, both by their Preaching and otherwise.

A. As for their Actions there is no doubt but all Men are guilty enough (if God deal severely with them) to be damned: and for their Preaching they will say they thought it agreable to God's revealed Will in the Scriptures, if they thought it so, it was not Disobedience but Error, and how can any man prove they thought otherwise?

B. Hipocrisy hath this great prerogative above other Sins, that it cannot be accused.

A. Another *Duty* he sets down is to Honour him in his House, that is the *Church* in his Possessions,

ſſions, in his Day, in his Word and Sacra-ents.

B. They perform this Duty (I think) as well as ny other Miniſters, I mean the Loyal Party; and he *Presbyterians* have always had an equal care to ave Gods Houſe free from profanation; to have ithes duly paid, to have the Sabbath day kept oly, the Word Preached, and the Lords Supper nd Baptiſm duely Adminiſtred: But is not the eeping of the Feaſts and of the Faſts, one of thoſe uties that belong to the honour of God, if it be, he *Presbyterians* fail in that?

A. Why ſo, They kept ſome Holy Days, and ey had Feaſts among themſelves, though not upon e ſame Days that the Church Ordains, but when ey thought fit, as when it pleaſed God to give e King any notable Victory, and they govern'd emſelves in this point by the Holy Scriptures, as ey pretend to be; and can prove they did not elieve ſo.

B. Let us paſs over all other *Duties*, and come o that Duty which we owe to the King, and con-der whether the Doctrine taught by theſe Divines hich adhered to the King be ſuch, in that point, s may juſtifie the *Presbyterians* that incited the eople to Rebellion; for that's the thing you call Queſtion.

B. Con-

A. Concerning our Duty to our Rulers, he hath these words, An obedience we must pay either Active or Passive, the Active in the Case of all lawful Commands, that is, whenever the Magistrate Commands something which is not contrary to some Command of God, we are then bound to act according to that Command of the Magistrate, to do the thing he requires: but when he enjoyns any thing contrary to what God hath Commanded we are not then to pay him this Active obedience, we may, nay we must refuse thus to Act (yet here we must be very well assur'd that the thing is so contrary, and not pretend Conscience for a Cloak of stubbornness) we are in that Case to obey God rather than men, but even this is a season for the Passive obedience, we must patiently suffer what he inflicts on us for such refusal, and not, to secure our selves, rise up against him.

B. What is there in this to give Colour to the late Rebellion?

A. They will say they did it in obedience to God, inasmuch as they did believe it was according to the Scripture, out of which they will bring perhaps examples of *David* and his Adherents, that resisted King *Saul*, and of the Prophets afterwards that vehemently from time to time Preached against the Idolatrous Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, *Saul* was their Lawfull King; and yet they paid him neither Active nor Passive obedience; for they did put themselves into a posture of defence against

gainſt him, though *David* himſelf ſpared his Perſon, and ſo did the *Presbyterians* put into their Commiſſion to their *General*, that they ſhould ſpare the *Kings Perſon*; beſides, you cannot doubt but that they who in the *Pulpit* did animate the *People* to take Arms in defence of the then *Parliament*, alleadged Scripture, that is the *Word* of God for it; if it be lawful then for Subjects to reſiſt the King when he commands any thing againſt the Scripture, that is contrary to the Command of God, and to be Judge of the meaning of the Scripture it is impoſſible, that the Life of any King, or the Peace of any Chriſtian Kingdom can be long ſecure: It is this Doctrine that divides a Kingdom within it ſelf, whatſoever the Men be Loyal or Rebels, that Write or Preach it publickly: And thus you ſee, that if thoſe ſeditious Miniſters be tryed by this Doctrine they will come off well enough.

B. I ſee it, and wonder at People, that having never ſpoken with God Almighty, nor knowing one more than another, what he hath ſaid, when the Laws and the Preacher diſagree, ſhould ſo keenly follow the Miniſter, for the moſt part an ignorant, though a ready tongu'd Scholar; rather than the Laws that were made by the King, with the conſent of the Peers, and the Commons of the Land.

A. Let us examine his words a little nearer; Firſt concerning paſſive Obedience, when a Thief hath broken the Laws, and according to the Law, is therefore executed, can any Man underſtand, that this

this ſuffering of his is an obedience to the Law? Every Law is a Command to do or to forbear, neither of theſe is fulfilled by ſuffering, If any ſuffering can be called obedience, it muſt be ſuch as is voluntary; for no involuntary Action can be counted a ſubmiſſion to the Law. He that means that his ſuffering ſhould be taken for obedience, muſt not only not reſiſt, but alſo not fly, nor hide himſelf to avoid his puniſhment. And who is there among them that diſcourſes of paſſive obedience, when his life is in extream danger, that will voluntarily preſent himſelf to the Officers of Juſtice. Do not we ſee that all Men when they are led to execution, are both bound and guarded, and would break looſe if they could and get away? Such is their paſſive Obedience Chriſt ſaith, *the Scribes and Phariſees ſate in* Moſes *Chair, all therefore whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do, Mat.* 23. 3. which is a doing an active Obedience, and yet the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* appear not by the Scripture to have been ſuch Godly men, as never to command any thing againſt the Revealed will of God.

E. Muſt Tyrants alſo be obeyed in every thing actively, or is there nothing wherein a Lawful Kings Commands may be diſobeyed, what if he ſhould command me with my own hands to Execute my Father, in Caſe he ſhould be Condemned to Dye by the Law?

A. This is a Caſe that need not be put, We never

never have read nor heard of any King or Tyrant ſo inhumane as to command it; if any did, we are to conſider, whether that Command were one of his Laws, for by diſobeying Kings, we mean diſobeying his Laws, thoſe his Laws that were made before they were applied to any particular perſon for the *King* though as a Father of Children, and a Maſter of domeſtick Secrets, yet commands the people in general never but by a precedent Law, and as a Publick, not a Natural perſon, and if ſuch a Command as you ſpeak of were contrived into a general Law (which never was, nor never will be) you were bound to obey it, unleſs you depart the *Kingdom* after the publication of the Law, and before the Condemnation of your Father.

B. Your Author ſa's farther in refuſing Active obedience to the *King* that Commanded any thing contrary to God's Law, we muſt be very well aſſured that the thing is ſo contrary, I would fain know how is it poſſible to be aſſured?

A. I think you do not believe, that any of thoſe Reſuſers do immediately from God's own Mouth receive any Command contrary to the Command of the King, who is God's Lieutenant, nor any other way than you and I do, that is to ſay, than by the Scriptures, and becauſe Men do for the moſt part rather draw the Scripture to their own ſenſe, than follow the true ſenſe of the Scripture, there is no other way to know certainly, and in

all

all cases, what God Commands or forbids us to do, but by the sentence of him, or them, that are constituted by the King to determine the sence of the Scriptures upon hearing of the particular Case of Conscience which is in question: and they that are so constituted are easily known in all *Christian Commonwealths*, whether they be *Bishops*, or *Ministers*, or *Assemblies*, that Govern the *Church* under him, or them that have the Soveraign Power.

B. Some doubts may be raised from this that you now say; for if men be to learn their Duty from the sentence which other men shall give concerning the meaning of the *Scriptures* and not from their own Interpretation, I understand not to what end they were Translated into *English*, and every man not only permitted, but also exhorted, to read them; for what could that produce but diversity of *Opinion*, and consequently (as man's nature is) *Disputation*, breach of *Charity Disobedience*, and at last *Rebellion*? Again since the *Scriptures* were allowed to be read in *English*, why were not the Translations such as might make all that's read understood, even by mean Capacities? Did not the *Jews*, such as could read, understand their *Law* in the *Jewish Language* as well as we do our *Statute Laws* in *English*? and as for such places of the *Scripture* as had nothing of the Nature of a *Law*, it was nothing to the duty of the *Jews*, whether they were understood or not, seeing nothing is punishable but the Transgression of some Law

Law; The ſame queſtion I may ask concerning the *New Teſtament*, for I believe that thoſe Men to whom the Original Language was natural did underſtand ſufficiently what Commands and Counſels were given them by our Saviour and his Apoſtles, and his immediate Diſciples: Again how will you anſwer that queſtion which was put by St. *Peter* and St. *John*, *Act.* 4. 19. when by *Ananias* the *High-Prieſt*, and others of the Council of *Jeruſalem* they were forbidden any more to teach in the name of *Jeſus*? whether is it right in the ſight of God to hearken to you more than unto God?

A. The Caſe is not the ſame, *Peter* and *John* had ſeen and dayly converſed with our *Saviour*, and by the Miracles he wrote did know he was God, and conſequently knew certainly that their Diſobedience to the *High Prieſts* preſent command was juſt. Can any *Miniſter* now ſay that he hath immediately from God's own Mouth received a Command to diſobey the *King*, or know otherwiſe than by the Scripture, that any Command of the King that hath the form and nature of a Law, is againſt the Law of God, which in divers places he directly and evidently Commandeth to obey him in all things. The Text you cite doth not tell us that a *Miniſter's* Authority, rather than a *Chriſtian King's* ſhall decide the queſtions that ariſe from the different Interpretations of the *Scripture*. And therefore, where the *King* is head of the *Church*, and by conſequence (to omit that the *Scripture* it ſelf was not received but by the Authority

Authority of *Kings* and *States*) chief Judge of the *Rectitude* of all Interpretations of the *Scripture*, to obey the *King's Laws* and publick *Edicts* is not to disobey, and obey God, a *Minister* ought not to think that his Skill in the *Latine*, *Greek* or *Hebrew Tongues*, if he have any gives him a priviledge to impose upon all his Fellow-subjects his own sense, or what he pretends to be his sense of every obscure place of Scripture, nor ought he, as often as he hath found some fine interpretation not before thought on by others, to think he had it by inspiration as fine as he thinks it, is not false; and then all his Stubornes's and Contumacy towards the *King* and his Laws is nothing but Pride of heart and Ambition or else Imposture, And whereas you think it needless, or perhaps hurtful to have the *Scriptures* in *English*, I am of another mind, There are so many places of *Scripture* easily to be understood, that teach both true Faith and good Morality, and that as fully as is necessary to Salvation, of which no Seducer is able to dispose the mind of any ordinary Readers, that the Reading of them is so profitable as not to be forbidden without great Damage to them and the *Commonwealth?*

B. All that is required both in Faith and Manners for Man's Salvation, is, I confess, set down in Scripture as plainly as can be, *Children Obey your Parents in all things: Servants obey your Masters: Let all men be subject to the Higher Powers, whether it be the King, or those that are sent by him: Love God*

God with all your Soul, and your Neighbour as your ſelf, are words of the *Scripture*, which are well enough underſtood; but neither Children, nor the greateſt part of Men do underſtand why it is their Duty ſo to do; they ſee not that the ſafety of the *Commonwealth*, and conſequently their own, depends upon the doing of it: Every man by Nature without Diſcipline does in all his Actions look upon, as far as he can ſee, the benefit that ſhall redound to himſelf by his Obedience, he Reads that *Covetouſneſs is the Root of all Evil*, but he thinks, and ſometimes finds it is the Root of his *Eſtate*. And ſo in other Caſes, the *Scripture* ſays one thing, and they think another, weighing the Commodities or Incommodities of this preſent Life only, which are in their ſight, never putting into the Scales the Good and Evil of the Life to come, which they ſee not.

A. All this is no more than happens where the *Scripture* is ſealed up in *Greek* and *Latine*, and the People taught the ſame things out of them by *Preachers*, but they that are of Condition and Age fit to examine the ſence of what they read, and that take a delight in ſearching out the Grounds of their Duty, certainly cannot chuſe but by reading of the *Scriptures* come to ſuch a ſenſe of their Duty, as not only to obey the *Laws* themſelves, but alſo to induce others to do the ſame, for commonly Men of Age and quality are followed by their inferiour Neighbours that look more upon the example of thoſe Men whom

they Reverence, and whom they are unwilling to displease then upon pracepts and Laws.

B. These men of the condition and Age you speak of are in my opinion the unfitteſt of all others to be truſted with the reading of the Scriptures; I know you mean ſuch as have ſtudied the *Greek* or *Latin*, or both Tongues, and that are withal ſuch as love knowledge, and conſequently take delight in finding out the meaning of the moſt hard Texts, or in thinking they have found it in caſe it be new and not found out by others; theſe are therefore they that pretermitting the eaſie places, that teach them their Duty, fall to ſcanning only the Myſterys of Religion, Such as are, how it may be made out with wit, that there be three that bare Rule in Heaven, and thoſe three but one, how the Deity could be made fleſh, how that fleſh could be really preſent in many places at once; where's the place, and what the Torments of Hell and other Metaphyſical Doctrines? whether the Will of Man be free, or govern'd by the Will of God, whether Sanctity comes by Inſpiration or Education; by whom Chriſt now ſpeaks to us, whether by the *King*, or by the Bible to every Man that reads it and interprets it to himſelf, or by a private Spirit to every private Man: Theſe and the like points are the ſtudy of the curious and the cauſe of all our late miſchief; and the cauſe that makes the plainer ſort of men whom the Scriptures had taught belief in Chriſt, love towards God, obedience towards the *King*, and ſobriety of Behaviour; ſo

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get it all, and place their Religion in the Disputable Doctrines, of these your wise Men.

A. I do not think these men fit to interpret the Scriptures to the rest, nor do I say that the rest ought to take their interpretation for the word of God. Whatsoever is necessary for them to know more, does them no good; but in case any of these unnecessary Doctrines shall be Authorized by the Laws of the *King* or other state: I say it is the duty of every Subject not to speak against them in asmuch as 'tis every Mans Duty to obey him, or them that have the Sovereign power, and the Wisdom of all such powers, to punish such as shall publish or teach their private Interpretations when they are contrary to the Law: and likely to incline men to sedition or disputing against the Law.

B. They must punish then the most of those that have had their breeding in the *Universities*, for such curious questions in Divinity are first started in the *Universities*; and so are all those politick questions concerning the Rights of Civil and *Ecclesiastical* Government, and there they are furnished with arguments for liberty, out of the works of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, and out of the *Histories* of *Rome* and *Greece* for their disputation against the necessary power of their Sovereigns; therefore I dispare of any lasting peace, among our selves till the *Universities*, here shall bend and direct their studies to the setling of it. That is, to the Teaching of Absolute obedience to the Laws of the *King*, and to his

publick Edicts under the great Seal of *England*; for I make no doubt but that ſolid reaſon backt with the Authority of ſo many learned men, will more prevail for the keeping of us in peace within our ſelves than any victory can do over the Rebells, but I am afraid 'tis unpoſſible to bring the *Univerſities* to ſuch a compliance with the Actions of ſtate as is neceſſary for the Buſineſs; ſeeing the *Univerſities* have heretofore from time to time maintain'd the Authority of the Pope, contrary to all Laws, Divine, Civil, and Natural: againſt the Right of our *Kings*; why can they not as well when they have all manner of Laws and Equity on their ſide, maintain the Rights of him that is both ſovereign of the Kingdom and Head of the Church.

B. Why then were they not in all points for the *Kings* power preſently after that King *Henry* the 8. was in *Parliament* declared Head of the Church, as much as they were before for the Authority of the *Pope*.

A. Becauſe the *Clergy* in the *Univerſities* by whom all things there are Govern'd, and the *Clergy* without the *Univerſities* as well *Biſhops* as inferiour *Clerks* did think that the pulling down of the *Pope*, was the ſetting up of them, (as to *England*) in his place, and made no queſtion the greateſt part of them, but that their ſpiritual power did depend not upon the Authority of the King but of Chriſt himſelf derived to them by ſucceſſible Impoſition of hands from *Biſhop* to *Biſhop*? notwithſtanding they knew that

that this derivation paſſed through the hands of *Popes* and *Biſhops* whoſe Authority they had caſt off, for though they were content that the Divine right which the *Pope* pretended to in *England* ſhould be denied him, yet they thought it not ſo fit to be taken from the *Church* of *England*, whom they now ſuppoſed themſelves, to repreſent.

It ſeems they did not think it reaſonable, that a Woman, or a Child, or Man, that could not conſtrue the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, or *Latin* Bible, nor know perhaps the declenſions and Conjugations of *Greek* or *Latin* Nounes and Verbs, ſhould take upon him to govern ſo many learned *Doctors* in matters of Religion, meaning matters of Divinity, for Religion has been for a long time, and is now by moſt people taken for the ſame thing with Divinity, to the great advantage of the *Clergy*.

B. And eſpecially now amongſt the *Presbyterians*, for I ſee few that are eſteemed by them very good *Chriſtians*, beſides ſuch as can repeat their Sermons and wrangle for them about the Interpretation of the Scripture, and fight for them alſo with their Bodies or purſes when they ſhall be required to believe in Chriſt is nothing with them, unleſs you believe as they bid you, Charity is nothing with them unleſs it be Charity and liberality to them, and partaking with them in faction. How we can have peace while this is our Religion, I cannot tell, *Hæret Lateri lethalis arundo.* The ſeditious Doctrine of the *Presbyterians* hath been ſtuck ſo hard in the Peoples

heads and memories, (I cannot say into their hearts for they understood nothing in it, but that they may lawfully rebel) That I fear the *Common-wealth* will never be cured.

A. The 2 Great vertues that were severally in *Henry* the 7. *Henry* the 8. When they shall be Joyntly in one King, will easily cure it, that of *Henry* the 7. was without much noise of the people to fill his Coffers, that of *Henry* the 8. was an early severity, but this without the former cannot be exercised.

B. This that you say looks (methink) like an advice to the King to let them alone till he have gotten ready money enough to levy and maintain a sufficient Army, and then fall on them and destroy them.

A. God forbid that so horrible Unchristian and unhuman design should ever enter into the Kings heart, I would have him have money enough, readily to raise an Army able to suppress any Rebellion, and to take from the Enemies all hope of success, that they may not dare to trouble him in the Reformation of the *Universities*, but to put none to death, without the Actual committing such crimes as are already made Capital by the Laws, the Core of Rebellion as you have seen by this, and read of other Rebellions, are the Universities, which nevertheless are not to be cast away, but to be better disciplin'd, that is to say, that the Politicks there taught

taught be made to be (as true politicks ſhould be) ſuch as are fit to make men know that it is their duty to obey all Laws whatſoever that ſhall be by the Authority of the *King* enacted, till by the ſame Authority they ſhall be repeal'd, ſuch as are fit to make Men underſtand that the Civil Laws are Gods Laws, as they that make them, and to make Men know that the people and the Church are one thing, and have but one Head, the *King*; and that no Man has Title to Govern under him that has it not from him; that the King owes his Crown to God only, and to no Man *Eccleſiaſtick*, or other, and that the Religion they teach there, be a quiet waiting for the coming again of our bleſſed Saviour, and in the mean time a Reſolution to obey the Kings Laws, which are alſo Gods *Laws*, to injure no man, to be in charity with all Men, to cheriſh the Poor and Sick, and to live Soberly, and free from ſcandal, without mingling our Religion with points of Natural Philoſophy, as freedom of Will, Incorporeal ſubſtance; Everlaſting News, *Ubiquities*, *Hypoſtaſes*. Which the people underſtand not, nor will ever care for, when the Univerſities ſhall be thus diſciplined, there will come out of them from time to time, well Principled Preachers, and they that are ill Principled, from time to time fall away.

B. I think it a very good courſe, and perhaps the only one that can make our peace amongſt our ſelves conſtant: for if Men know not their Duty, what is there that can force them to obey the *Laws?* an Army youl ſay; But what ſhall force the

Army, were not the *Train'd Bands* an Army? Were they not the *Janisaries* that not very long ago slew *Osman* in his own Palace at *Constantinople*! I am therefore of your opinion, both that Men may be brought to a love of Obedience by Preachers and Gentlemen that imbibe good Principles in their Youth at the Universities; and also that we never shall have a lasting Peace, till the Universities themselves be in such manner (as you have said) reformed, and the Ministers know they have no Authority but what the supream Civil Power gives them; and the Nobility and Gentry know, that the Liberty of a State is not an Exemption from the Laws of their own Countrey, whether made by an Assembly, or by a Monarchy, but an Exemption from the constraint and Insolence of their Neighbours.

And now I am satisfied in this Point, I will bring you back to the place from whence my Curiosity drew you to this long digression; We were upon the point of Ship-money; one of those grievances, which the Parliament exclaimed against, as Tyranny and Arbitrary Government, thereby to single out (as you called it) the King from his Subjects, and to make a party against him, when they should need it: and now you may proceed if it please you, to such other Artifices as they used to the same purpose.

A. I think it were better to give over here our discourse of this business, and refer it to some other Day that you shall think fit.

R. Con-

B. Content that Day, I believe is not far off:

A. You are welcome, yet if you had ſtayed ſomewhat longer: my money would have been ſo much the better provided for you.

B. Nay! I pray you give me now what you have about you, for the reſt I am content to take what time you pleaſe.

A. After the Parliament had made the People believe that the Extorting of Ship-money was unlawful, and the people thereby inclind to think it Tyrannical; in the next place to increaſe their diſaffection to his *Majeſty*: they accuſed him of a purpoſe to introduce, and *Authorize* the *Roman Religion* in this Kingdom: than which nothing was more hateful to the People, not becauſe it was *Erroneous* (which they had neither Learning nor Judgment enough to examine) but becauſe they had been uſed to hear it inveyed againſt, in the Sermons and diſcourſes of all the Preachers whom they truſted to, and this was indeed the moſt effectual callumny to alienate the Peoples affections from him that could poſſibly be invented; the colour they had for this ſtand was; Firſt, that there was one *Roſſeti Reſident*, (at and a little before the time) from the *Pope* with the *Queen*. And one Mr. *George Conſecretary* to the *Cardinal Franciſco Barbareni*, *Nephew* to *Pope Urban* the Eighth ſent over underſavour, and protection of the *Queen* (as was conceived) to draw as many perſons of quality about the Court, as he ſhould be Able, to reconcile themſelves to the

Church of *Rome*, with what success I cannot tell; But it is likely he gained some, especially of the weaker Sex, If I may say they were gained by him, when not his Arguments but hope of favour from the *Queen* in all probability prevailed upon them.

B. In such a Conjuncture as that was, it had perhaps been better they had not been sent.

A. There was exception also taken at a *Covent* of *Fryers*, *Capucines* in *Summer set House*; though allowed by the *Articles* of *Marriage*; and it was reported that the *Jesuites* also were shortly after to be allowed a *Covent* in *Clarkenwel*, and in the mean time the Principal *Secretary* Sir *Francis windbank* was accused for having by his Warrant set at liberty some English *Jesuits* that had been taken and imprisoned for returning into *England*, after Banishment contrary to the statute, which had made it Capital, also the resort of English *Catholicks* to the *Queens Chappel* gave them Colour to blame the *Queen* herself, not only for that but also for all the favours that had been shown to the *Catholicks*; insomuch that some of them did not stick to say openly that the *King* was Governed by her.

B. Strange Injustice! The *Queen* was a *Catholick* by profession, and therefore could not but endeavour to do the *Catholicks* all the good she could, she had not else been truely that which

which she professed to be, but it seems they meant to force her to Hypocrisy, being Hypocrites themselves: Can any man think it a crime in a Devout Lady (of what Sect soever) to seek Favour and Benediction of that *Church* whereof she is a Member.

A. To give the *Parliament* another Colour for their Accusation on foot for the *King*, as to introducing of *Popery*, there was a great Controversy between the *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian Clergy* about *Free-will*. The Dispute began first in the *Low-Countries*, between *Gomar* and *Arminius*, in the time of King *James*, who foreseeing it might trouble the *Church* of *England*, did what he could to compose the difference, an Assembly of *Divines* was thereupon got together at *Dort*, to which also King *James* sent a *Divine* or two, but it came to nothing, the question was left undecided, and became a Subject to be disputed of in the *Universities*; here all the *Presbyterians* were of the same mind with *Gomar*, but a very great many others not and those were called here *Arminians*, who because the Doctrine of *Free-will* had been exploded as *Papistical*, and because the *Presbyterians* were far the greater number, and already in favour with the People, they were generally hated; it was easy therefore for the *Parliament* to make that Calumny pass currently with the People: when the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Laud*, was for *Arminius*, and had a little before, by his Power Eccle-

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cleſiaſtical, forbidden all Miniſters to preach to the People of *Predeſtination* and when all *Miniſters* that were gracious with him, and hoped for any Church-preferment fell to Preaching and Writing for *Free-will* to the uttermoſt of their Power, as a proof of their Abillity and Merit. Beſides they gave out, ſome of them, that the *Arch-Biſhop* was in heart a *Papiſt*, and in caſe he could effect here a Tolleration of the *Roman Religion* to have a *Cardinal's Hat*, which was not only falſe, but alſo without any ground at all for a Suſpicion.

B. It is a ſtrange thing that *Scholars* obſcure men, that could receive no Charity, but from the flame of the State ſhould be ſuffered to bring their unneceſſary Diſputes, and together with them their quarrels out of the *Univerſities* into the *Commonwealth*, and more ſtrange that the *State* ſhould engage in their Parties, and not rather put them both to ſilence: A *State* can conſtrain Obedience, but convince no Error, nor alter the Mind of them that believe they have the better reaſon? Suppreſſion of Doctrines does but unite and exaſperate, that is, increaſe both the malice and Power of them that have already believed them; But what are the points they diſagree in? Is there any Controverſy between *Biſhop* and *Presbyterian* concerning the *Divinity* or *Humanity* of *Chriſt?* Do eitheir of them deny the *Trinity*, or any Article of the *Creed?* Does either Party Preach openly, or Write directly

rectly againſt *Juſtice*, *Charity*, *Sobriety*, or any other Duty, neceſſary to Salvation, except only the Duty to the *King*, and not that neither; but when they had a mind either to Rule or Deſtroy the *King*? *Lord have mercy upon us.* Can no body be ſaved that underſtands not their Diſputations? or is there more requiſite either of Faith, or Honeſty for the Salvation of one Man than another? What needs ſo much Preaching of Faith to us that are no *Heathens*, & that believe already all that *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles* have told us is neceſſary to Salvation, and more too? Why is there ſo little Preaching of *Juſtice*? I have indeed heard *Righteouſneſs* often recommended to the People, but I have ſeldom heard the word *Juſtice* in their Sermons: nay, though in the *Latin* and *Greek Bible* the word *Juſtice* occur exceeding often, yet in the *Engliſh* (though it be a word that every man underſtands (the word *Righteouſneſs*) which few underſtand to ſignifie the ſame, but take it rather for *Righteouſneſs* of Opinion, than of Action or Intention) is put in the place of it.

A. I confeſs I know very few controverſies amongſt *Chriſtians* of points neceſſary to Salvation

vation; they are the Questions of Authority and Power over the *Church*, or of Profit, or Honour to *Church-men* that for the most part raise all the Controversies: For, what man is he that will trouble himself, and fall out with his Neighbours for the saving of my Soul, or the Soul of any other than himself? When the *Presbyterian Ministers*, and others, did so furiously Preach *Sedition*, and animate men to *Rebellion* in these late Wars. Who was there that had not a Benefit, or having one, feared not to loose it, or some other part of his Maintenance by the alteration of the Government, that did voluntarily, without any eye to reward, Preach so earnestly against *Sedition*, As the other party Preached for it? I confess that for ought I have observed in History and other Writings of the *Heathens*, *Greek* and *Latine*, that those *Heathens* were not at all short of us in point of Vertue and Moral Duties, notwithstanding that we have had much Preaching, and they none at all; I confess also that considering what harm might proceed from a Liberty that Men have upon every *Sunday*, and other, to Harangue all the People of a Nation at one time, whilst the State is ignorant what they will say, and that there is no such thing permitted in all the World out of *Christendom*, nor therefore any Civil Wars about *Religion*; I have thought much Preaching an inconvenience, nevertheless I cannot think that Preaching to the People the points of their Duty both to God and Man can be too frequent, so it be done by Grave, Discreet, and Antient men that are Reverenced by

by the People, and not by light quibling young men whom no congregation is so simple as to look to be taught by, (as being a thing contrary to Nature) or to pay them any Reverence, or to care what they say, except some few that may be delighted with their Jingling: I wish with all my Heart there were enough of such Discreet and Antient men as might suffice for all the Parishes of *England*, and that they would undertake it; but this is but a wish I leave it to the wisdom of the *State*, to do what it pleaseth.

B. What did they next?

A. Whereas the King had sent Prisoners into Places remote from *London* three Persons, that had been condemned for publishing seditious Doctrine, some in Writing, some in publick Sermons; that *Parliament* (whether with his Majesties consent or no I have forgotten) caused them to be released, and to Return to *London*, meaning, I think, to try how the People would be pleased therewith, and by consequence, how their endeavours to draw the Peoples Affections from the King had already prospered, when these three came through *London*, it was a kind of Triumph, the People flocking together to behold them, and receiving them with such Acclamations, and almost Adoration, as if they had been let down from Heaven: Insomuch that the *Parliament* was now sufficiently assured of a great & tumultuous Party whensoever they should have occasion to use it, on confidence whereof, they proceeded to their next Plot, which was to deprive

prive the King of such Ministers. as by their Courage, Wisdom and Authority they thought most able to prevent, or oppose their further Designs against the *King*: And first the *House of Commons* resolv'd to impeach the Earl of *Stafford*; Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* of *High-Treason*.

B. What was that Earl of *Stafford* before he had that Place: And how had he offended the *Parliament*, or given them cause to think he would be their Enemy? For I have heard, that in former *Parliaments*, he had been as *Parliamentary* as any other.

A. His name was Sr. *Thomas Wentworth*, a Gentleman both for birth and estate very considerable in his own Country, which was *York shire*; but more considerable for his Judgment in the Publick Affairs, not only of that Country, but generally of the Kingdom; either a *Burgess* for some Borrough, or Knight of the Shire: for his *Principles* of *Politicks*, they were the same that were generally proceeded upon by all Men else, that are thought fit to be chosen for the *Parliament*: which are commonly these, *To take for the Rule of Justice and the Government, the Judgments and Acts of former Parliaments, which are commonly called Precedents; to Endeavour to keep the People from being Subject to Extra-Parliamentary Taxes of money; And from being with Parliamentary Taxes too much oppressed; to preserve to the People their Liberty of Body from their Arbitrary Power of*

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the King out of Parliament; *To seek Redress of Grievances.*

B. What Grievances?

A. The *Grievances* were commonly such as these; the Kings too much Liberality to some Favourite: The too much power of any Minister of State or Officer, the Misemeanours of Judges Civil or Spiritual, but especially all Unparliamentary raising of Money upon the Subjects. And commonly of late till such grievances be redressed, they refuse, or at least make great difficulty to furnish the King with Money necessary for the most urgent occasions of the Commonwealth.

B. How then can a King discharge his Duty as he ought to do; or the Subject know which of his Masters he is to Obey? For here are manifestly two Powers, which when they chance to differ, cannot both be Obeyed.

A. 'Tis true, but they have not often differed so much to the danger of the Commonwealth as they have done in this Parliament of 1640. In all the Parliaments of the late King *Charles* before the year 1640. my Lord of *Strafford* did appear in opposition to the Kings Demands, as much as any Man, and was for that Cause very much esteemed and cried up by the People as a good Patriot, and one that couragiously stood up in defence of their Liberties, and for the same cause was so much the more hated, when afterwards he endeavoured to maintain the Royal and Just Authority of his Majesty.

B. How

B. How came he to change his mind so much as it seems he did.

A. After the Dissolution of that Parliament holden in the year 1627 and and 1628, the King finding no Money to be gotten from Parliaments, which he was not to buy with the Blood of such Servants and Ministers as he loved best, abstained a long time from calling any more, and had abstained longer, if the Rebellion of the *Scotch* had not forced him to it. During that Parliament the King made Sir *Thomas Wentworth* a Baron, recommended to him for his great ability, which was generally taken notice of by the differvice which he had done the King in former Parliaments, but which might be useful also for him in the times that came on, and not long after that he made him of the Counsel, and again Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which place he discharged with great satisfaction and benefit to his Majesty, and continued in that Office, till by the Envy and Violence of the Lords and Commons of that unlucky Parliament of 1640. he died, in which year he was made General of the Kings Forces against the *Scotch* that then entred into *England*, and the year before the Earl of *Strafford*. The Pacification being made, and the Forces on both sides Disbanded, and the Parliament at *Westminster* now sitting: It was not long before the House of Commons accused him to the House of Lords of High Treason.

B. There was no great probability of his being a Trai-

a Traitor to the King, from whose favour he had received his greatness, and from whose Protection he was to expect his safety: What was the Treason they laid to his Charge?

A. Many Articles were drawn up against him, but the summ of them was contained in these two, First, That he had traiterously endeavour'd to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Realm, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government against Law. Secondly, That he had laboured to subvert the Rights of Parliaments, and the Antient course of Parliamentary Proceedings.

B. Was this done by him without the knowledge of the King?

A. No.

B. Why then if it were Treason did not the King himself call him in Question by his Attorney? What had the House of Commons to do without his Command to accuse him to the House of Lords? They might have complain'd to the *King*, if he had not known it before, I understand not this Law.

A. Nor I.

B. Had this been by any former Statutes made *Treason?*

A Not that I ever heard of; nor do I understand that any thing can be Treason against the *King*, that the *King* hearing & knowing does not think Treason: But it was a piece of that Parliaments Artifice to put the word Traiterously to any Article exhibited against

againſt a man whoſe life they meant to take away.

B. Was there no particular inſtance of action or words out of which they argued, that endeavour of his, to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of Parliament whereof they accuſed him.

A. Yes, they ſaid he gave the King Counſel to reduce the Parliament to their duty by the *Iriſh* Army, which not long before my Lord of *Strafford* himſelf had cauſed to belevied there for the *Kings* ſervice; but it was never proved againſt him, that he adviſed the *King* to make uſe of it againſt the Parliament.

B. What are thoſe Laws that are called fundamental? for I underſtand not how one Law can be more fundamental than another, except only that Law of Nature that binds us all to obey him whoſoever he be, whom lawfully and for our own ſafety we have promiſed to obey, nor any other fundamental Law to a *King*, but *Salus Populi*, The ſafety and well being of his People.

A. This Parliament in the uſe of theſe words when they accuſed any Man never regarded the ſignification of them, but the weight they had to aggravate their accuſation to the Ignorant multitudes which think all faults heinous that are expreſt in heinous terms: If they hate the Reaſon accuſed as they did this Man not only for being of the *Kings* party, but alſo for deſerting the Parliaments party as an *Apoſtate*.

B. I pray you alſo tell me what they meant by

by *Arbitrary* Government, which they ſeemed ſo much to hate: Is there any Governour of a People in the World that is forced to Govern them, or forced to make this and that Law whether he will or no! I think, or if any be that forces him, does certainly make Laws and Govern *Arbitrarily*.

A. That is true, and the true meaning of the Parliament was, that not the *King* but they themſelves ſhould have the *Arbitrary* Government; not only of *England*, but of *Ireland*, and (as it appeared by the event) of *Scotland* alſo.

B. How the *King* came by the Government of *Scotland* and *Ireland* by deſcent of his Anceſters, every body can tell; but if the *King* of *England* and his Heirs ſhould chance (which God forbid) to fail, I cannot imagine what Title the Parliament of *England* can acquire thereby to either of thoſe Nations.

A. Yet they ſay they have been conquered anciently by the *Engliſh* Subjects Money.

B. Like enough, and ſuitable to the reſt of their Impudence.

A. Impudence in *Democratical Aſſemblies* does almoſt all that is done 'Tis the *Goddeſs* of *Rhetorick* and carries on proof with it for ought ordinary Man will not from ſo great boldneſs of Affirmation conclude, there is a great boldneſs of affirmation, conclude there is a great probability in the *King* affirmed upon this accuſation; he was brought to his Trial at *Weſtminſter hall* before the Houſe of *Lords*, and found guilty:

and

and presently after declared a *Trayter* by a Bill of Attainder, that is by Act of Parliament.

B. It is a strange thing that the *Lords* should be induced upon so light Grounds, to give a sentence, or give their assent to a Bill so prejudicial to themselves, and their posterity.

A. 'Twas not well done, and yet (as it seems) not ignorantly, for there is a clause in the Bill, that it should not be taken hereafter for an example, that is for a prejudice in the like case hereafter.

B. That is worse than the Bill it self, and is a plain confession that their sentence was unjust, for what harm is there in the example of just sentences: besides if hereafter the like case should happen the sentence is not at all made weaker by such a provision.

A. Indeed I believe that the *Lords* most of them were not willing to condemn him of Treason, they were awed to it by the clamour of the Common People that came to *Westminster*, crying out *Justice, Justice against the Earl of Strafford*, the which were caused to flock thither by some of the *House of Commons* that were well assured after the Triumphant Welcome of *Prince*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick*, to put the People into Tumult upon any occasion they desired, they were awed unto it partly also, by the *House of Commons* it self, which if it desired to undo a Lord had no more to do but to Vote him *Delinquent*.

B. A *Delinquent!* what's that? A Sinner, is'

s't not? Did they mean to undoe all Sinners:

A. By *Delinquent* they meant only a Man to whom they would do all the hurt they could, but the *Lords* did not yet, I think, ſuſpect they meant to Caſhier their whole *Houſe*.

B. It's a ſtrange thing the whole *Houſe* of *Lords* ſhould not perceive the ruine of the *King*'s Power, or weakening of themſelves; for they could not think it likely that the People ever meant to take the Soveraignty from the King to give it to them who were fewer in Number, and leſs in Power than ſo many *Commoners*, becauſe leſs beloved by the People.

A. But it ſeems not ſo ſtrange to me for the *Lords*, for their perſonal abilities, as they were no leſs, ſo alſo they were no more Skilful in the Publick affairs than the *Knights* and *Burgeſſes*, for there is no reaſon to think that if one that is to day a *Knight* of the Shire in the *Lower Houſe*, be to morrow made a *Lord*, and a Member of the *Higher Houſe*, is therefore wiſer than he was before; they are all of both *Houſes* prudent and able Men as any in the Land, in the buſineſs of their private Eſtates, which requires nothing but Diligence and Natural Wit to Govern them, but for the Government of a *Commonwealth*, neither Wit nor Prudence, nor Diligence is enough without infallible Rules, and the true Science of Equity and Juſtice.

B. If this be true, it is impoſſible any *Commonwealth* in the World, whether *Monarchy*, *Ariſto-*

Aristocracy, or *Democraſie* ſhould continue long without Change, or Sedition tending to change either of the Government or of the Governours.

A. 'Tis true, nor have any of the greateſt *Commonwealths* in the World been ſo long from *Sedition*, the *Greeks* had it, firſt their petty *Kings* and then by *Sedition* came to be petty *Commonwealths*, and then growing to be greater *Commonwealths*, by Sedition again became *Monarchies*, and all for want of rules of *Juſtice* for the Common People to take notice of which if the People had known in the beginning of every of theſe Seditions, the Ambitious perſons could never have had the hope to diſturb their Government after it had been once ſettled, for Ambition can do little without hands, and few hands it could have if the Common People were as diligently inſtructed in the true Principles of their Duty, as they are terrified and amazed by Preachers with fruitleſs and dangerous Doctrines concerning the Nature of Man's will, and many other Philoſophical doints that tend not at all to the Salvation of the Soul in the World to come, not to their eaſe in this life, but only to the Diſcretion towards the *Clergy*, of that Duty which they ought to perform to the King.

B. For ought I ſee all States the of *Chriſtendom* will be ſubject to thoſe fits of Rebellion as long as the World laſteth.

A. Like enough, and yet the fault (as I have

have ſaid) may be eaſily mended by mending the *Univerſities*.

B. How long had the *Parliament* now ſate?

A. It began *Novemb.* 3. 1640. My Lord of *Strafford* was Impeached of *Treaſon* before the *Lords*, *November* 12. ſent to the *Tower*, *Nov.* 22. his Trial began *March* 22. and ended *April* 13. After his Trial he was voted guilty of *High Treaſon* in the *Houſe of Commons*, and after that in the *Houſe of Lords*, *May* 6. and on the 12 of *May* beheaded.

B. Great expedition! But could not the *King* for all that have ſaved him by a Pardon.

A. The *King* had heard all that paſſed at his Trial, and had declared he was unſatisfied concerning the Juſtice of their Sentence, and (I think) notwithſtanding the danger of his own Perſon from the fury of the People, and that he was counſelled to give way to his *Execution*, not only by ſuch as he moſt relied on, but alſo by the Earl of *Strafford* himſelf, He would have pardoned him, if that could have preſerved him from the Tumult raiſed and countenanced by the *Parliament* it ſelf, for the terrifying of thoſe they thought might favour him, and yet the King himſelf did not ſtick to confeſs afterwards, that he had done amiſs in that he did not reſcue him.

B. 'Twas an Argument of a good diſpoſition in the *King*, but I never read that *Auguſtus Cæſar* acknowledged that he had a fault in aban-

doning *Cicero* to the fury of his Enemy *Antonius*, perhaps becauſe *Cicero*, having been of the contrary Faction to his Father, had done *Auguſtus* no ſervice at all, out of favour to him, but only out of enmity to *Antonius*, and of love to the *Senate*, that is indeed out of love to himſelf that ſwayed the *Senate*, as it is very likely the *Earl* of *Strafford* came over to the *King*'s party for his own ends, having been ſo much againſt the *King* in former *Parliaments*.

A. We cannot ſafely judge of Men's Intentions, but I have obſerved often, that ſuch as ſeek preferment by their Stubborneſs have miſſed of their aim; and on the other ſide, that thoſe Princes, that with preferment are forced to buy the Obedience of their Subjects, are already, or muſt be ſoon after in a very weak condition, for in a Market where Honour is to be bought with Stubborneſs, there will be a great many as able to buy as my *Lord Strafford* was.

B. You have read, that when *Hercules* fighting with the *Hydra*, had cut of any one of his many Heads, there ſtill aroſe two other Heads in it's place, and yet at laſt he cut them off all.

A. The Story is told falſe, for *Hercules* at firſt did not cut off thoſe Heads, but bought them off, and afterwards when he ſaw that did him no good, then he cut them off and got the Victory.

B. What

B. What did they next.

A. After the first Impeachment of the *Earl* of *Strafford*, the *House* of *Commons* upon *December* 18. accused the *Arch Bishop* of *Canterbury* also of *High Treason*, that is, of a design to introduce Arbitrary Government, &c. For which he was (*February* 18.) sent to the *Tower*, but his Trial and Execution were deferred a long time, till *January* 10. 1643. for the entertainment of the *Scots*, that were come into *England* to aid the *Parliament*.

B. Why did the *Scots* think there was so much danger in the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*? he was not a man of War, nor a Man able to bring an Army into the Field; but he was perhaps a very great Politician.

A. That did not appear by any remarkable events of his Counsels, I never heard but he was a very honest man for his Morals, and a very zealous promoter of the Church Government by Bishops, and that he desired to have the Service of God performed, and the House of God adorned as suitable as was possible, to the honour we ought to do to the Divine Majesty. But to bring, as he did, into the State his Former Controversies, I mean his squablings in the University about Free-Will, and his standing upon Punctilio's concerning the Service-Book and its Rubricks, was not (in my opinion) an Argument of his sufficiency in Affairs of State. About the same time they passed an Act (which the King consented

16) for a Triennial Parliament, wherein was Enacted, That after the present Parliament, there should be a Parliament call'd by the King within the space of three years, and so from three years to three years to meet at *Westminster* upon a certain day named in the *Act*.

B. But what if the *King* did not call it; finding it perhaps inconvenient or Hurtful to to the Safety or Peace of his People, which God hath put into his Charge; for I do not well comprehend how any Soveraign can well keep a People in order when his hands are tied, or when he hath any other Obligation upon him, than the benefit of those he Governs. And at this time, for any thing you told me, they acknowledged the King for their Soveraign.

A. I know not, but such was the *Act*; And it was farther *Enacted*, That if the *King* did not by his own command, then the Lord Chancellour or the Lord Keeper for the time being should send out the Writs of Summons: And if the Chancellour refused, then the Sheriffs of the several Countries of themselves at the next *County Courts* before the day set down for the Parliaments meeting, should proceed to the Election of the members for the said Parliament.

B. But what if the Sheriffs refused?

A. I think they were to be sworn to it, but for that and other particulars I refer you to the *Act*.

B. To

B. To whom ſhould they be ſworn when there is no Parliament?

A. No doubt, but to the *King*; whether there be a Parliament ſitting or no.

B. Then the *K.* may Releaſe them of their Oath.

A. Beſides, They obtained of the *King* the putting down the *Star Chamber*, and the High Commiſſion Courts.

B. Beſides, if the *King* upon the refuſal, ſhould fall upon them in Anger, Who ſhall (the Parliament not ſitting) Protect either the Chancellor or the Sheriffs in their Diſobedience?

A. I pray you do not ask me any Reaſon of ſuch things, I underſtand no better than you: I tell you only an Act paſſed to that purpoſe and was Signed by the *King* in the middle of *February*, a little before the Arch Biſhop was ſent to the Tower. Beſides this Bill, the two Houſes of Parliament agreed upon another, wherein it was enacted, That the preſent Parliament ſhould continue till both the Houſes did conſent to the Diſſolution of it; which Bill alſo the *King* Signed the ſame day he Signed the Warrant for the Execution of the Earl of *Strafford*.

B. What a great Progreſs made the Parliament towards the end of the moſt ſeditious Members of both Houſes in ſo little time. They ſate down in *November*, and now it was *May*; in this ſpace of time, which is but half a year

year, they won from the *King* the Adherance which was due to him from his People: they drove his faithfulleſt Servants from him, beheaded the Earl of *Strafford*, Impriſoned the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, obtained a Triennial Parliament after their Own Diſſolution, and a continuance of their own ſitting as long as they liſted; which laſt amounted to a total extinction of the *Kings* right in caſe that ſuch a grant were valid, which I think it is not, unleſs the Soveraignty it ſelf be in plain termes renounced; which it was not, but what money by way of Subſidue or otherwiſe, did they grant the *King* in recompence of all theſe his large conceſſions.

A. None at all, but often promiſed they would make him the moſt glorious *King* that ever was in *England*; which were words that paſſed well enough for wel meaning with the *common* People.

B. But the Parliament was contented now: for I cannot imagine what they ſhould deſire more from the *King*, than he had now granted them.

A. Yes, they deſired the whole and abſolute Soveraignity, and to change the *Monarchical* government into an *Oligarchy*, that is to ſay, to make the Parliament conſiſting of a few *Lords*, and about 400 *Commoners*, abſolute in the Soveraignty for the preſent, and ſhortly after to lay the houſe of *Lords* aſide, for this was the deſign of the *Presbyterian Miniſters*, who taking themſelves to be, by Divine right, the only Lawful goverr-

ners

ners of the *Church*, endeavoured to bring the ſame form of Government into the *Civil State*, and as the ſpiritual Laws were to be made by their *Synods*, ſo their *Civil Laws* ſhould be made by the Houſe of *Commons*; who, as they thought, would no leſs be ruled by them afterwards, than formerly they had been: wherein they were deceived, and found themſelves cut gone by their own *Diſciples*, though not in malice yet in Wit.

B. What followed after this.

A. In *Auguſt*, following the *King* ſuppoſing he had now ſufficiently obliged the Parliament, to proceed no farther againſt him: took a *journey* into *Scotland*, to ſatisfy his Subjects there, as he had done here; intending perhaps ſo to gain their good wills, that in caſe the Parliament here ſhould levy Armes againſt him; they ſhould not be aided by the *Scots*, wherein he alſo was deceived, for though they ſeemed ſatisfied with what he did (whereof one thing was his giving way to the *Aboletion* of *Epiſcopacy*), yet afterwards they made a League with the Parliament, and for money (when the *King* began to have the better of the Parliament) invaded *England*, in the Parliaments Quarrel, but this was a Year or two after.

B. Before you go any farther, I deſire to know the ground and Original of that Right which either the Houſe of *Lords*, or Houſe of *Commons*, or both together pretend to.

A It is a queſtion of things ſo long paſt that

they are now forgotten; nor have we any thing to conjecture by, but the Records of our own *Nation:* and some small and obscure fragments of *Roman Histories:* And for the Records, seeing they are of things only done sometimes justly, sometimes unjustly, you can never by them know what Right they had, but only what right they pretended.

B. Howsoever let me know what light we have in this matter from the *Roman Histories.*

A. It would be too long, and an useless digression to cite all the Antient Authors that speak of the forms of those *Common-wealths*, which were amongst our first *Ancestors*, the *Saxons* and other *Germans*, and of other *Nations*; from whom we derive the Titles of Honour; now in use in *England*; nor will it be possible to derive from them any Arguments of Right, but only examples of fact, which by the Ambition of *Potent Subjects* have been oftner unjust than otherwise; and for those *Saxons* or *Angles*, that in antient times by several Invasions made themselves Masters of this Nation, they were not in themselves one Body of a *Common-wealth*, but only a League of Divers *Petty German Lords* and States such as was the *Grecian* Army in the *Trojan War*, without other obligations, than that which proceeded from their own fear and weakness; nor were these *Lords* for the most part the Soveraigns at home in their own *Country*, but chosen by the People, for the Captains of the forces they brought with them;

And

And therefore it was not without Equity, that when they had conquer'd any part of the Land, and made some one of them King thereof, the rest should have greater Priviledges than the Common People and Souldiers, amongst which Priviledges a man may easily conjecture this to be one; That they should be made acquainted, and be of Council with him that hath the Soveraignty in matters of Government, and have the greatest and most honourable Offices, both in Peace and War: But because there can be no Government where there is more than one Soveraign, it cannot be inferr'd that they had a Right to oppose the Kings resolutions by force, nor to enjoy those honours and places longer than they should continue good Subjects: And we find that the Kings of *England* did upon every great occasion call them together by the name of Discreet & Wise men of the Kingdom, and hear their Councils and make them Judges of all Causes, that during their Sitting were brought before them. But as he summon'd them at his own pleasure; so had he also ever at his pleasure power to Dissolve them. The *Normans* also that Descended from the *Germans* as we did, had the same Customs in this particular; and by this means, this Priviledge have the Lords to be of your Kings great Council, and when they were assembled, to be the highest of the Kings Court of Justice, continued still after the Conquest to this day. But though there be amongst the Lords divers Names or Titles of

Honour, yet they have their Priviledge by the only name of Baron, a name receiv'd from the antient *Gauls*, amongst whom that name signified the King's Man, or rather one of his great Men: By which it seems to me, that though they gave him Counsel when he requir'd it, yet they had no right to make War upon him, if he did not follow it.

B. When began first the House of Commons to be part of the King's great Council?

A. I do not doubt but that before the Conquest, some Discreet Men, and known to be so by the King, were called by special Writ to be of the same Council, though they were not Lords. But that is nothing to the House of Commons: the Knights of Shires, and Burgesses were never called to Parliament, for ought that I know, till the begining of *Edward* the first, or the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the III. immediately after the misbehaviour of the Barons: and for ought any man knows, were called on purpose to weaken the Power of the Lords, which they had so freshly abused. Before the time of *Henry* the third, the Lords were Descended most of them from such as in the Invasions and Conquests of the *Germans* were Peers and fellow Kings, till one was made King of them all, and their Tenants were their Subjects, as it is at this day with the Lords of *France*. But after the time of *Henry* the third, the Kings began to make Lords in the place of them, whose Issue fail'd Titularly only; without the Land belong-

belonging to their Title; and by that means their Tenants being bound no longer to ſerve them in the Wars, they grew every day leſs and leſs able to make a Party againſt the King, tho they continued ſtill to be his Great Council: And as their power decreaſed, ſo the Power of the Houſe of Commons increaſed; But I do not find that they were part of the Kings Council at all, nor judges over other men, tho it cannot be denied but a King may ask their advice, as well as the advice of any other. But I do not find that the end of their ſummoning was to give advice; but only in caſe they had any Petitions for redreſs of Grievances, to be ready there with them whilſt the King had his Great Council about him.

But neither they, nor the Lords, could preſent to the King as a Grievance; That the King took upon him to make the *Laws*, to chuſe his own Privy Council, to raiſe Money and Souldiers, to defend the Peace and Honour of the Kingdome, to mak Captains in his Army, to make Governours of his Caſtle whom he pleaſed; for this had been to tell the King, that it was one of their Grievances that he was King.

B. What did the Parliament do whilſt the King was in *Scotland*?

A. The King went in *Auguſt*; after which the Parliament *September* the 8th. adjourn'd till the 20th. of *October*, and the King return'd about the end of *November* following, in which time the moſt Seditious of both Houſes, and which had

had Designed the Change of Government, and to cast off Monarchy (but yet had not wit enough to set up another Government in its place, and consequently left it to the Chance of War) made a Cabal amongst themselves, in which they projected how by seconding one another to Govern the House of Commons; and invented how to put the Kingdom by the Power of that House into a Rebellion, which they then called a posture of Defence against such Dangers from abroad as they themselves should feign and publish. Besides, whilst the King was in *Scotland*, the *Irish* Papists got together a great Party, with an Intention to Massacre the Protestants there, and had laid a Design for the seizing of *Dublin* Castle, *October* the 20th. where the King's Officers of the Government of the County made their Residence, and had effected it, had it not been Discovered the night before: The Manner of the Discovery, and the Murders they committed in the Country afterwards, I need not tell you, since the whole story of it is extant.

B. I wonder they did not expect & provide for a Rebellion in *Ireland*, as soon as they began to quarrel with the King in *England*: For was there any body so ignorant as not to know that the *Irish* Papists did long for a Change of Religion there, as well as the Presbyterians in *England*? Or that in general the *Irish* Nation did hate the name of Subjection to *England*, or would longer be quiet than they feared an Army

my out of *England* to chaſtize them? What better time then, could they take for their Rebellion than this, wherein they were encouraged, not only by our weakneſs cauſed by this Diviſion between the King and his Parliament, but alſo by the Example of the Presbyterians, both of the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Nation? But what did the Parliament do upon this occaſion in the King's abſence?

A. Nothing; but conſider what uſe they might make of it to their own ends; partly by imputing it to the King's evil Counſellors, and partly by occaſion thereof to demand of the King the Power of Preſſing and Ordering of Souldiers, which Power whoſoever has, has alſo without doubt the whole Soveraignty.

B. When came the King back?

A. He came back the 25th. of *November*, and was welcomed with the Acclamations of the Common People, as much as if he had been the moſt beloved of the Kings before him, but found not a Reception by the Parliament anſwerable to it: They preſently began to pick new Quarrels againſt him out of every thing he ſaid to them. *December* the 2d. the King called together both Houſes of Parliament, and then did only recommend unto them the raiſing of Succours for *Ireland*.

B. What Quarrel could they pick out of that?

A. None, but in order thereto, as they may pretend, they had a Bill in Agitation to aſſert the

the power of Levying & Preſſing Souldiers to the two Houſes of the Lords and Commons; which was as much as to take from the King the Power of the *Militia*, which is in effect the whole Soveraign Power; for he that hath the Power of Levying, and Commanding of the Souldiers, has all other Rights of Soveraignty which he ſhall pleaſe to claim: The King hearing of it, called the Houſes of Parliament together again on *December* the 14th. and then preſſed again the buſineſs of *Ireland*, (as there was need) for all this while the *Iriſh* were murdering the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, and ſtrengthening themſelves againſt the Forces they expected to come out of *England*) and withal told them, he took notice of the Bill in Agitation for Preſſing of Souldiers; and that he was content it ſhould paſs with a *Salvo Jure* both for him and them, becauſe the preſent time was unreaſonable to diſpute it in.

B. What was there unreaſonable in this?

A. Nothing; what's unreaſonable is one queſtion, what they quarrelled at is another: They quarrelled at this, that His Majeſty took notice of the Bill while it was in debate in the Houſe of Lords, before it was preſented to him, in the Courſe of Parliament: And alſo that he ſhewed himſelf diſpleaſed with thoſe that propounded the third Bill; both which they declared to be againſt the Priviledges of Parliament, and petitioned the King to give them reparation againſt thoſe by whoſe evil Council he

was

was induced to it, that they might receive condign punishment.

B. This was cruel proceeding: Do not the Kings of *England* use to sit in the Lords House when they please? And was not this Bill then in debate in the House of Lords? It is a strange thing that a man should be lawfully in the company of men, where he must needs hear and see what they say or do; and yet must not take notice of it, so much as to the same Company; for though the King was not present at the Debate it self, yet it was lawful for any of the Lords to make him acquainted with it. Any one of the House of Commons, though not present at a Proposition, or Debate, in the House, nevertheless hearing of it from some of his fellow-Members, may certainly, not only take notice of it, but also speak to it in the House of Commons: But to make the King give up his Friends and Counsellors to them to be put to Death, Banishment or Imprisonment, for their good will to him, was such a Tyranny over a King, no King ever exercised over any Subject, but in cases of Treason, or Murder, and seldom then.

A. Presently hereupon grew a kind of War between the Peers of Parliament, and those of the Secretaries, and other able Men that were with the King. For upon the 15th. of *December* they sent to the King a paper called a Remonstrance of the Sate of the Kingdom, and with it a Petition, both which they caused to be published

liſhed; in the Remonſtrance they complained of certain miſchievous Deſigns of a Malignant Party, then before the beginning of the Parliament, grown ripe, and did ſet forth what means had been uſed for the preventing of it by the Wiſdome of the Parliament; what Rubs they had found therein; what courſe was fit to be taken for the reſtoring and eſtabliſhing the Antient Honour, Greatneſs and Safety of the Crown and Nation: And of thoſe Deſigns the Promoters and Actors where, they ſaid,

1. Jeſuits and Papiſts,

2. The Biſhops, and part of the Clergy, that cheriſh Formality as a ſupport of their own Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny and Uſurpation.

3. Counſellors and Courtiers, that for private ends (they ſaid) had engaged themſelves to farther the Intereſts of ſome Forein Princes.

B. It may well be that ſome of the Biſhops, and alſo ſome of the Court may have, in purſuit of their private Intereſt, done ſomething indiſcreetly, and perhaps wickedly; therefore I pray you to tell me particularly what their Crimes were; for methinks the King ſhould not have conniv'd at any thing againſt his own Supream Authority.

A. The Parliament were not very keen againſt them that were againſt the King. They made no doubt but all they did was by the King's Command, but accuſed thereof the Biſhops, Counſellors & Courtiers, as being a more mannerly way of accuſing the King himſelf, & defa-

defaming him to his Subjects. For the truth is, the Charge they brought againſt them was ſo general, as not to be called an Accuſation, but Railing. As firſt, They ſaid, they nouriſhed Queſtions of Prerogatives and Liberty between the King and his People, to the end, that ſeeming much addicted to His Majeſties Service, they might get themſelves into places of greateſt Truſt and Power in the Kingdome.

B. How could this be call'd an Accuſation, in which there is no Fact for any Accuſers to apply their Proof to, or their Witneſſes? For, granting that theſe Queſtions of Prerogative had been moved by them, who can prove that their End was to gain to themſelves and Friends the Places of Truſt and Power in the Kingdom?

A. A ſecond Accuſation was, that they endeavour'd to ſuppreſs the Purity and Power of Religion.

B. That's Canting: It is not in Mans power to ſuppreſs the Power of Religion.

A. They meant, that they ſuppreſt the Doctrine of the Presbyterians; that is to ſay, the very Foundation of their Parliaments Treacherous Pretenſions.

A third; That they cheriſhed Arminians, Papiſts, and Libertines (by which they meant the common Proteſtants that meddle not with Diſputes) to the end they might compoſe a body fit to Act according to their Counſels and Reſolutions.

A fourth; That they endeavoured to put the King

King upon other courſes of raiſing Money, than by the ordinary way of Parliaments. Judge whether theſe may be properly called Accuſations, or not rather ſpightful Reproaches of the King's Government.

B. Methinks this laſt was a very great fault; for what good could there be in putting the King upon any odd courſe of getting Money, when the Parliament was willing to ſupply him as far as to the ſecurity of the Kingdome, or to the honour of the King ſhould be neceſſary?

A. But I told you before they would give him none, but with a Condition he ſhould cut off the heads of whom they pleaſed, how faithfully ſoever they had ſerv'd him; and if he would have ſacrificed all his Friends to their Ambition, yet they would have found other excuſes to deny him Subſidies, for they were reſolv'd to take from him the Soveraign Power to themſelves, which they would never do without taking great care that he ſhould have no Money at all. In the next place, they put into the Remonſtrance as faults of them whoſe Council the King followed, All thoſe things which ſince the beginning of the King's Reign were by them miſ-liked, whether faults or not, and whereof they were not able to judge for want of knowledge of the Cauſes and Motives that induced the King to do them, and were known only to the King himſelf, and ſuch of his Privy-Council as he revealed them to.

B. But what were thoſe particular pretended faults? *A.* Firſt,

A. First, The Diſſolution of his laſt Parliament at *Oxford.*

Secondly, The Diſſolution of his ſecond Parliament, being in the ſecond year of his Reign.

Thirdly, The Diſſolution of his Parliament in the fourth year of his Reign.

Fourthly, The fruitleſs Expedition againſt *Cales.*

Fifthly, The Peace made with *Spain*, whereby the Palatine's Cauſe was deſerted and left to chargeable aud hopeleſs Treaties.

Sixthly, The ſending of Commiſſions to raiſe Money by way of Loan.

Seventhly, Raiſing of Ship-money.

Eightly, Enlargements of Forreſts contrary to *Magna-Charta.*

Ninthly, The Deſignment of Engroſſing all the Gun-powder into one hand, and keeping it in the Tower of *London.*

Tenthly. A Deſign to bring in the Uſe of Braſs-Money.

Eleventhly, The Fines, Impriſonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gaggs, Confinements and Baniſhments, by Sentence in the Court of Star Chamber.

Twelfthly, The Diſplacing of Judges.

Thirteenthly, The Illegal Acts of Council-Table.

Fourthteenthly, The Arbitrary and Illegal Power of the Earl-Marſhal's Court.

Fifteenthly, The Abuſes in Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, and of Wards.

Six-

Sixteenthly, The selling of Titles of Honour, of Judges and Serjeants Places, and other Offices.

Seventeenthly, The Insolence of Bishops, and other Clerks in Suspensions, Excommunications, and Degradations of divers painful, and learned, and pious Ministers.

B. Were there any such Ministers Degraded, Depraved, or Excommunicated?

A. I cannot tell: But I remember I have heard threatned divers painful, unlearned and seditious Ministers.

Eighteenthly, The Excess of Severity of the High Commission-Court.

Nineteenthly, The Preaching before the King against the property of the Subject, and for the Prerogative of the King above the Law, and divers other petty Quarrels they had to the Government; which though they were laid upon this Faction, yet they knew they would fall upon the King himself in the Judgment of the People, to whom by Printing it was communicated.

Again, After the Dissolution of the Parliament *May* the *5th.* 1640. they find other faults; as the Dissolution it self, the Imprisoning some Members of both Houses; a forced Loan of Money attempted in *London*; the Continuance of the Convocation when the Parliament was ended; and the favour shewed to Papists by Secretary *Windebank* and others.

B. All this will go current with common people

people for Miſ-government; and for faults of the King's, though ſome of them were Miſfortunes, and both the Miſ-fortunes and the Miſ-government (if any were) were the faults of the Parliament, who by denying to give him Money, did both fruſtrate his Attempts abroad, and put him upon thoſe extroardinary waies (which they call Illegal) of raiſing Money at home,

A. You ſee what a heap of Evils they have raiſed to make a ſhew of ill Government to the People, which they ſecond with an enumeration of the many ſervices they have done the King in overcoming a great many of them, though not all, and in divers other things, and ſay, that though they had contracted a Debt to the *Scots* of 220000*l.* and granted ſix Subſidies, and a Bill of Pole-money worth ſix Subſidies more, yet that God had ſo bleſſed the Endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdom was a gainer by it; and then follows the Catalogue of thoſe good things they had done for the King & Kingdom: For the Kingdom they had done (they ſaid) theſe things; they had aboliſhed Ship-money, They had taken away Coat & Conduct-mony, and other Military Charges, which they ſaid amounted to little leſs than the Ship money; That they ſuppreſt all Monopolies, which they reckoned above a Million yearly ſav'd by the Subject; That they had quell'd Living Grievances, meaning Evil Counſellors & Actors by the Death of my Lord *Strafford*; by the flight

of

of the Chancellor *Finch*, and of Secretary *Windebank*, by the Impriſonment of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Judges; that they had paſt a Bill for a Triennial Parliament, and another for the Continuance of the preſent Parliament, till they ſhould think fit to Diſſolve themſelves.

B. That is to ſay, for ever, if they be ſuffered. But the ſum of all thoſe things, which they had done for the Kingdome, is, that they had left it without Government, without Strength, without Money, without Law, and without good Council.

A. They reckoned alſo putting down of the High Commiſſion and the abating of the Power of the Council-Table, and of the Biſhops, and their Courts; the taking away of unneceſſary Ceremonies in Religion; removing of Miniſters from their Livings, that were not of their Faction, and putting in ſuch as were.

B. All this was but their own, and not the Kingdomes buſineſs.

A. The Good they had done the King was, firſt, (they ſaid) the giving of 25000*l.* a month for the Relief the Northern Counties.

B. What need of Relief had the Northern more than the reſt of the Counties of *England*?

A. Yes, In the Northern Counties were quartered the *Scotch* Army, which the Parliament call'd in to oppoſe the King, and conſequently their Quarter was to be diſcharged.

B. True, but by the Parliament that call'd them in.

A. But

A. But they say no, and that this Money was given the King, because he is bound to protect his Subjects.

B. He is no farther bound to that, than they to give him Money wherewithal to it. This is very great Impudence, to raise an Army against the King, and with that Army to oppress their Fellow-subjects, and then require that the King should relieve them; that is to say, be at the Charge of Paying the Army that was raised to fight against him.

B. Nay farther, they put to the Kings accompts the 300000*l.* given to the *Scots*, without which they would not have Invaded *England*; besides many other things that I now remember not.

B. I did not think there had been so great Impudence and Villany in Mankind.

A. You have not observ'd the world long enough to see all that's ill: Such was their Remonstrance, as I have told you; with it they sent a Pitition containing three points.

First, That His Majesty would deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and remove such Oppressions in Religion, Church, Government, and Discipline, as they had brought in.

Secondly, That he would remove from his Council, all such as should promote the Peoples Grievances, and Imploy in his great and publick affairs such as the Parliament should confide in.

Thirdly, That he would not give away the Lands Escheated to the Crown by the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

B. Thi

B. This last point, methinks, was not wisely put in at this time; it should have been reserv'd till they had subdued the Rebels, against whom there were yet no Forces sent over: 'Tis like selling the Lions Skin, before they had kill'd him. But what answer was made to the other two Propositions?

A. What answer should be made but a Denial?

About the same time the King himself Exhibited Articles against six persons of the Parliament, five whereof were of the House of Commons, and one of the House of Lords, accusing them of High Treason: and upon the fourth of *Jan.* went himself to the House of Commons to demand those five of them; but private notice having been given by some Treacherous person about the King, they had absented themselves, and by that means frustrated His Majesties intention; and after he was gone, the House making a hainous matter of it, and a High Breach of their Priviledges, adjourned themselves into *London*, there to sit as a General Committee, pretending they were not safe at *Westminster*; for the King, when he went to the House to demand those persons, had somewhat more attendance with him (but not otherwise armed than his servants used to be) than he ordinarily had, and would not be pacified (though the King did afterwards wave the prosecution of these persons) unless he would also discover to them those that gave him Counsel to go in

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that manner to the Parliament-House, to the end they might receive condign punishment, which was the Word they used instead of Cruelty.

B. This was a harsh Demand: Was it not enough that the King should forbear his Enemies, but also that he must betray his Friends? If they thus Tyrannize over the King before they have gotten the Soveraign Power into their Hands, how will they Tyrannize over their Fellow-Subjects when they have gotten it?

A. So as they did.

B. How long staid that Committee in *London*?

A. Not above 2 or 3 Days, and then were brought from *London* to the Parliament-House by Water in great Triumph, guarded with a tumultuous number of Armed Men, there to sit in security in despite of the King, and make Traiterous Acts against Him, such and as many as they listed, and under favour of these Tumults, to frighten away from the House of Peers all such as were not of their own Faction; for at this time the Rabble was so insolent, that scarce any of the Bishops durst go to the House for fear of Violence upon their Persons: insomuch that Twelve of them excused themselves of Coming thither, and by way of Petition to the King remonstrated that they were not permitted to go quietly to the Performance of that Duty, and protesting against all Determinations as of none Effect, that should pass in the House of

Lords during their forced Abſence, which the Houſe of Commons taking hold of, ſent up to the Peers, one of their Members to accuſe them of High Treaſon; whereupon Ten of them were ſent to the Tower, after which time there was no more words of their High Treaſon, but there paſſed a Bill, by which they were deprived of their Votes in Parliament: And to this Bill they got the Kings aſſent, and in the beginning of *Sept.* after they Voted the Biſhops ſhould have no more to do in the Government of the Church, but to this they had not the Kings Aſſent, the War being now begun.

B. What made the Parliamenr ſo averſe to Epiſcopacy, and eſpecially the Houſe of Lords, whereof the Biſhops were Members: For I ſee no reaſon why they ſhould do it to gratifie a number of poor Pariſh Prieſts that were Presbyterians, and that were never likely to ſerve the Lords; but on the contrary, to do their beſt, to pull down their power, and ſubject them to their Synods and Claſſes.

A. For the Lords, very few of them did perceive the intention of the Presbyterians; and beſides that, they durſt not, I believe, oppoſe the Lower Houſe.

B. But why were the Lower Houſe ſo earneſt againſt them?

A. Becauſe they meant to make uſe of their Tenets; and with pretended Sanctity, to make the King and his Party odious to the People, by whoſe help they were to ſet up *Democracy*, and

and Depose the King, or to let him have the Title only so long as he should Act for their purposes: But not only the Parliament, but in a manner all the People of *England*, were their enemies upon the account of their behaviour, as being (they said) too imperious. This was all that was colourably laid to their charge; the main of the pulling them down was the Envy of the Presbyterians, that incensed the People against them, and against Episcopacy it self.

B. How would the Presbyterians have the Church to be govern'd?

A. By National and Provincial Synods.

B. Is not this to make the National Assembly an Arch-Bishop, and the Provincial Assemblies so many Bishops?

A. Yes; but every Minister shall have the delight of sharing the Government, and consequently of being able to be reveng'd on them that do not admire their Learning, and help to fill their purses, and win to their service them that do.

B. 'Tis a hard Case, that there should be two Factions to trouble the Common-wealth without any interest of their own, other than every particular man may have; and that their quarrels should be only about opinions, that is, about who has the most Learning, as if their Learning ought to be the Rule of Governing the whole world. What is it they are Learned in? is it Politicks and Rules of State? I know it is called Divinity; but I hear almost nothing

preacht but matter of Philoſophy; for Religion in it ſelf admits of no Controverſie: 'Tis a Law of the Kingdom, and ought not to be diſputed. I do not think they pretend to ſpeak with God, and know his will by any other way than reading the Scriptures, which we alſo do.

A. Yes, ſome of them do, and give themſelves out for Prophets, by extraordinary Inſpiration; but the reſt pretend only (for their Advancement to Benefices, and charge of Souls) a greaterskill in the Scriptures than other men have by reaſon of their breeding in the Univerſities, and knowledge there gotten of the Latine Tongue, and ſome alſo of the Greek and Hebrew Tongues, wherein the Scripture was written; beſides their knowledge of Natural Philoſophy, which is there publickly taught.

B. As for the Latin, Greek and Hebrew, it was once (to the Detection of the *Roman* Fraud, and to the Ejection of the Romiſh Power) very profitable, or rather neceſſary. But now that is done, and we have the Scripture in Engliſh, and Preaching in Engliſh, I ſee no great need of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. I ſhould think my ſelf beter qualified by underſtanding well the Languages of our Neighbours, French, Dutch, and Italian. I think it was never ſeen in the world before the Power of Popes was ſet up, that Philoſophy was much conducing to Power in a Common-wealth.

A. But Philoſophy, togtheer with Divinity, hath very much conduced to the Advancement

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of the Professors thereof, to places of the greatest Authority, next to the Authority of Kings themselves, in most of the Antient Kingdoms of the world, as is manifestly to be seen in the History of those times.

B. I pray you cite me some of the Authors and places.

A. First, what were the Druids of old time in *Britainy* and *France*, what Authority these had you may see in *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, and others; & especially in *Diodorus Siculus*, the greatest Antiquary perhaps that ever was, who speaking of the Druids (which he calls Sarovides) in *France*, says thus; There be also amongst them certain Philosophers and Theologians that are exceedingly honored, whom they also use as Prophets. These men by their skill in Augury, & Inspection into the Bowels of Beasts sacrificed, foretell what is to come, and have the multitude in obedience to them, and a little after. It is a custom amongst them, that no man may sacrifice without a Philosopher, because (say they) men ought not to present their Thanks to the Gods, but by them that know the Divine Nature, and are as it were of the same Language with them; and that all good things ought by such as these to be prayed for.

B. I can hardly believe that those Druids were very skilful either in Natural Philosophy or Moral.

A. Nor I; for they held and taught the Transmigration of souls from one body to ano-

ther, as did *Pythagoras*, which Opinion, whether they took from him, or he from them, I cannot tell. What were the *Magi* in *Persia* but Philosophers and Astrologers? you know how they came to find our Saviour by the Conduct of a Star, either from *Persia* it self, or from some Country more Eastward than *Judea*: were not these in great Authority in their Country? And are they not in most part of Christendom, thought to have been Kings? *Ægypt* hath been thought by many the most antient Kingdom and Nation of the world, and their Priests had the greatest power in Civil Affairs that any Subject ever had in any Nation. And what were they but Philosophers and Divines? Concerning whom the same *Diodorus Siculus* saies thus; The whole Country of *Egypt* being divided into three parts, the Body of the Priests have One as being of most credit with the people, both for their Devotion towards the Gods, and also for their Understanding gotten by Education, and presently after: for generally those men in the greatest Affairs of all the King's Counsellors, partly Executing, and partly informing and Advising; foretelling him also (by their skill in Astrology and Art in the Inspection of Sacrifices) the things that are to come; and reading to him out of their Holy Books such of the Actions there recorded, as are profitable for him to know. 'Tis not there as in *Greece*, one man, or one woman that has

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the Prieſthood, but they are many that attend the Honours and Sacrifices of the Gods, and leave the ſame Imployment to their poſterity, which next to the King have the greateſt Power and Authority: concerning the Judicature amongſt the *Ægyptians*, he ſaith thus; from out of the moſt eminent Cities, *Hieropolis*, *Thebes* and *Memphis*, they choſe Judges, which are a Counſel not inferiour to that of *Areopagus* in *Athens*, or that of the Senate in *Lacedemon*; when they are met, being in number thirty, they chuſe one from among themſelves to be Chief Juſtice; and the City whereof he is, ſendeth another in his place: This Chief Juſtice wore about his neck, hung in a gold Chain, a Jewel of precious Stones; the name of which Jewel was Truth, which when the Chief Juſtice had put on, then began the pleading, *&c.* And when the Judge had agreed on the Sentence, then did the Chief Juſtice put this Jewel of Truth to one of the Pleas. You ſee now what power was acquir'd in Civil matters by the Conjuncture of Philoſophy and Divinity: Let us come now to the Common-wealth of the *Jews*; was not the Prieſthood in a Family (namely the *Levites*) as well as the Prieſthood of *Ægypt*? Did not the High Prieſt give Judgment by the Breaſtplate of *Urim* and *Thummim*? Look upon the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and the Philoſophers and *Chaldeans*; had not they Lands & Cities belonging to their Family, even in *Abraham*'s time, who dwelt (you know) in *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*; of theſe the ſame

Author says thus; The *Chaldæans* are a Sect in Politicks, like to that of the *Ægytian* Priests; for being ordained for the service of the gods, they spend the whole time of their life in Philosophy, being of exceeding great reputation in Astrology, and pretending much also to Prophecy, foretelling things to come by Purifications and Sacrifices; and to find out by certain Incantations the preventing of harm, and the bringing to pass of good. They have also skil in Augury, and in the Interpretation of Dreams and Wonders; nor are they unskilful in the Art of Foretelling by the Inwards of Beasts sacrificed, and have their Learning not of the Greeks; for the Philosophy of the *Chaldæans* goes to their Family by Tradition, and the Son receives it from his Father. From *Assyria* let us pass into *India*, and see what esteem the Philosophers had there. The whole Multitude (says *Diodorus*) of the *Indians*, is divided into seven parts, whereof the first is the Body of the Philosophers, for number the least, but for eminency the first; for they are free from Taxes; and as they are not Masters of others, so are no others Masters of them. By private Men they are called to the Sacrifices, and to the care of Burials of the Dead, as being thought most beloved of the gods, and skilful in the Doctrine concerning Hell; and for this Imployment receive Gifts and Honours very considerable. They are also of great use to the People of *India*, for being taken at the beginning of the year, in the great Assembly they fore-

foretel them of great Drouths, great Rains, also of Winds and of Sicknesses, and of whatsoever is profitable for them to know beforehand.

The same Author concerning the Laws of the *Æthiopians*, saith thus, The Laws of the *Æthiopians* seem very different from those of other Nations; and especially about the Election of their Kings: for the Preists propound some of the Chief Men among them named in a Catalogue: and when the God (which according to a certain Custom is carried about to Feastings) does accept of him, the Multitude Elect for their King, and presently adore and honor him, as a God, put into the Government by Divine Providence. The King being chosen, he has the manner of his Life limited to him by the Laws, and does all other things according to the Custom of the Country, neither rewarding nor punishing any man otherwise than from the beginning is establisht amongst them by Laws: nor use they to put any man to death, though he be condemn'd to it, but to send some Officer to him with a Token of Death, who seeing the Token, goes presently to his own house, and kills himself presently after. But the strangest thing of all is that which they do concerning the Death of their Kings, for the Priests that live in *Meroe*, and spend their time about the worship and honour of the gods, and are in greatest Authority; when they have a mind to it, send a Messenger to the King, to bid him dy, for that the gods have given such order, and that the

Commandments of the Immortals are not by any means to be neglected by those that are by nature Mortal, using also other speeches to him, with men of simple Judgement, that have not reason enough to dispute against those unnecessary Commands, as being educated under an old and indelible Custom, are content to admit of; therefore in former times the Kings did obey the Priests, not as mastered by force and Arms, but as having their reason mastered by superstition. But in the time of *Ptolomy* the second, *Ergamenes*, King of the *Æthiopians*, having had his Breeding in Philosophy after the manner of the Greeks, being the first that durst dispute their power, took heart as befitted a King; came with souldiers to a place called *Abaton*, where was then the golden Temple of the *Æthiopians*; killed all the Priests, abolished the Custom, and rectified the Kingdom according to his will.

B. Though they that were kill'd were most damnable Impostures, yet the Act was cruel.

A. It was so; But were not the Priests cruel to cause their Kings, whom a little before they adored as Gods, to make away themselves? The King kill'd them for the safety of his person; they him out of Ambition, or love of Change. The King's Act may be coloured with the good of his People; the Priests had no pretence against their Kings, who were certainly very godly, or else would never have obeyed the command of the Priests by a Messenger unarmed to kill themselves. Our late King, the best

King

King perhaps that ever was (you know) was murdered, having been first persecuted by War at the Incitement of Presbyterian Ministers, who are therefore guilty of the death of all that fell in that War, which were, I believe, in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* near one hundred thousand persons. Had it not been much better, that those seditious Ministers, which were not perhaps a thousand, had been all kill'd before that they had preached? It had been (I confess) a great Massacre; but the killing of a hundred thousand is a greater.

B. I am glad the Bishops were out at this business; as ambitious as some say they are, it did not appear in that business; for they were Enemies to them that were in it.

A. But I intend not by these Quotations to commend either the Divinity, or the Philosophy of those Heathen People, but to shew only what the Reputation of those Sciences can effect among the People: For their Divinity was nothing but Idolatry, and their Philosophy (excepting the knowledge of the *Ægyptian* Priests, and from them the *Chaldeans* had gotten by long Observation and Study in Astronomy, Geometry, and Arithmetick, very little, and that in great part abused in Astrology and Fortune-telling: whereas the Divinity of the Clergy of this Nation, now considered a part from the mixture that has been introduced by the Church of *Rome*, and in part retained here) of the babbling Philosophy

losophy of *Aristotle*, and other Greeks, that has no Affinity with Religion, and serves only to breed Disaffection, Dissention, and finally Sedition and Civil War (as we have lately found by dear Experience in the Differences between the Presbyterians and Episcopals) is the true Religion. But for these Differences, both Parties as they were in Power, not onely suppressed the Tenents of one another, but also whatsoever Doctrine lookt with an ill aspect upon their Interest; and consequently all true Philosophy, especially Civil and Moral, which can never appear propitious to Ambition, or to an Exemption from Obedience due to the Soveraign Power.

After the King had accused the Lord *Kimbolton*, a Member of the Lords House, and *Hollis*, *Haslerig*, *Hampden*, *Prinn*, and *Stroud*, Five Members of the Lower House, of High Treason; and after the Parliament had Voted out the Bishops from the House of Peers, they pursued especially two things in their Petitions to His Majesty, the one was that the King would declare who were the persons that advised him to go as he did to the Parliament-House to apprehend them; and that he would leave them to the Parliament to receive condign punishment; and this they did to stick upon His Majesty the dishonour of Deserting his Friends, and betraying them to his Enemies: The other was,

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that he would allow a Guard out of the City of *London* to be commanded by the Earl of *Essex*; for which they pretended they could not else sit in safety, which pretence was nothing but an upbraiding of His Majesty for coming to Parliament, better accompanied than ordinary to seize the said five several Members.

B. I see no reason in petitioning for a Guard, they should determine it to the City of *London* in particular, and the Command by name to the Earl of *Essex*, unless they meant the King should understand it a Guard against himself.

A. Their meaning was, that the King should understand it so, and as (I verily believe) they meant he should take it as an affront; and the King himself understanding it so, denied to grant it, though he were willing; if they could not otherwise be satisfied, to Command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to God Almighty. Besides this, the City of *London* petition'd the King (put upon it, no doubt, by some Members of the Lower House) to put the *Tower* of *London* into the hands of persons of Trust, meaning such as the Parliament should approve of. And so appoint a Guard for the safety of His Majesty and the Parliament. This method of bringing petitions in a Tumultary Manner by great Multitudes of Clamorous people, was ordinary with the House of Commons, whose Ambition could never have been served by way of

Prayer

Prayer and Requeſt, without extroordinary terror.

After the King had waved the proſecution of the Five Members, but denied to make known, who had adviſed Him to come in perſon to the Houſe of Commons, they queſtioned the Attorney General, who, by the King's Command, had Exhibited the Articles againſt them, and voted Him, *A breaker of the Priviledge of Parliament.* And no doubt had made him feel their Cruelty, if he had not ſpeedily fled the Land.

About the end of *January*, they made an Order of both Houſes of Parliament, to prevent the going over of Popiſh Commanders into *Ireland*; not ſo much fearing that, as that by this the King Himſelf chooſing his Commanders for that Service, might aid Himſelf out of *Ireland* againſt the Parliament. But this was no great matter, in reſpect of a Petition they ſent His Majeſty about the ſame time, that is to ſay, about the Twenty ſeventh, or Twenty eighth of *January*, 1641. wherein they deſired, in effect, the abſolute Soveraignty of *England*, though by the name of Soveraignty they challeng'd it not, whil'ſt the King was living; for to the End that the Fears and Dangers of this Kingdom might be removed, and the miſchievous Deſigns of thoſe who are Enemies to the Peace of it, might be prevented, they pray that His Majeſty wauld be pleaſed to put forthwith.

First,

First, The Tower of *London*.

Secondly, All other Forts.

Thirdly, The whole Militia of the Kingdom into the hands of such persons as should be recommended to him by both the Houses of Parliament.

And this they stile a necessary Petition.

B. Were there really any such Fears and Dangers generally conceived here? or did there appear any Enemies at that time with such designs as are mentioned in the Petition.

A. Yes, but no other fear of Dangers, but such as discreet and honest Men might justly have of the Designs of the Parliament it self, who were the greatest Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom that could possibly be. 'Tis also worth observing, that this Petition began with these words, *Most Gracious Soveraign*; so stupid they were, as not to know, that he that is Master of the Militia, is Master of the Kingdom, and consequently is in possession of a most absolute Soveraignty. The King was now at *Windsor*, to avoid the Tumults of the Common People before the Gates at *Whitehal*, together with the Clamours and Affronts there The Ninth of *Febr.* after, he came to *Hampton* Court, and thence went to *Dover* with the Queen, and the Princess of *Orange* his Daughter, where the Queen, with the Princess of *Orange*, embarked for *Holland*, but the King returned to *Greenwich*, whence he sent for the

Prince

Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York*, and ſo went with them towards *York*.

B. Did the Lords join with the Commons in this Petition for the Militia?

A. It appears ſo by the Title, but I believe they durſt not but do it; the Houſe of Commons took them but for a Cypher, Men of Title only, without real power, but they were very much miſtaken; for the Houſe of Commons never intended they ſhould be ſharers in it.

B. What Anſwer made the King to this Petition?

A. That when He ſhall know the Extent of Power which is intended to be eſtabliſhed in thoſe perſons, whom they deſire to be the Commanders of the Militia in the ſeveral Counties, and likewiſe to what time it ſhall be limited; that no Power ſhall be Executed by His Majeſty alone, without the advice of Parliament, then he will declare that (for the ſecuring them from all Dangers or Jealouſies of any) then His Majeſty will be content to put into all the places both Forts and Militia in the ſeveral Counties, ſuch perſons as both the Houſes of Parliament ſhall either approve, or recommend unto him, ſo that they declare before unto His Majeſty, the names of the perſons whom they approve, or recommend, unleſs ſuch perſons ſhall be nam'd, againſt whom he ſhall have juſt and unqueſtionable Exceptions.

B. What

B. What Power? For what Time? And to whom did the Parliament grant concerning the Militia?

A. The ſame Power which the King had before planted in his Lieutenants, and his Deputy-Lieutenants in the ſeveral Counties, and without other limitation of time, but their own pleaſure.

B. Who were the Men that had this Power?

A. There is a Catalogue of them Printed, they are very many, and moſt of them Lords; nor is it neceſſary to have them nam'd, for to name them, is (in my opinion) to brand them with the mark of Diſloyalty, or of Folly. When they had made a Catalogue of them, they ſent it to the King, with a new Petition for the Militia.

Alſo preſently after they ſent a Meſſage to His Majeſty, praying Him to leave the Prince at *Hampton* Court; but the King granted neither.

B. However it was well done of them to get Hoſtages (if they could) of the King, before He went from them.

A. In the mean time, to raiſe Money, for the reducing of *Ireland*, the Parliament invited Men to bring in Money by way of Adventure, according to theſe Propoſitions.

Firſt, That two Millions, and five hundred thouſand Acres of Land in *Ireland*, ſhould be aſſigned to the Adventurers in this proportion.

For

For an Adventure of
200 *l.* — 1000 Acres in *Ulster.*
300 *l.* — 1000 Acres in *Canaught.*
450 *l.* — 1000 Acres in *Munster.*
600 *l.* — 1000 Acres in *Lempster.*

All according to English Measure, and consisting of Meadow, arable and profitable Pasture, Bogs, Woods, and Barren Mountains, being cast in over and above.

Secondly, A Revenue was reserv'd to the Crown, from 1*d.* to 3*d.* on every Acre.

Thirdly, That Commissions should be sent by the Parliament, to erect Mannors, settle Wastes and Commons, maintain preaching Ministers, to create Corporations, and to regulate Plantations. The rest of the Propositions concern only the times and manner of payment of the Sums subscribed by the Adventurers, and to those Propositions His Majesty assented, but to the Petition for the Militia, His Majesty denied His Assent.

B. If he had not, I should have thought it a great Wonder. What did the Parliament after this?

A. They sent him another Petition, which was presented to him when He was at *Theobalds* in his way to *York*; wherein they tell Him plainly, *That unless He be pleased to assure them by those Messengers then sent, that He would speedily apply His Royal Assent to the satisfaction of their former Desires, they shall be forc'd, for the Safety*

Safety of his Majesty and his Kingdomes, to dispose of the Militia by the Authority of both Houses, &c.

They petitioned His Majesty also, to let the Prince stay at St. *Jameses*, or some other of His Majesties Houses near *London*. They tell Him also, *That the Power of Raising, Ordering, and Disposing of the Militia, cannot be granted to any Corporation, without the Authority and Consent of Parliament. And those parts of the Kingdome, that have put themselves into a posture of Defence, have done nothing therein, but by direction of both Houses, and what is justifiable by the Laws of this Kingdom.*

B. What answer made the King to this?

A. It was a putting of themselves into Arms, and under Officers, such as the Parliament should approve of.

Fourthly, They Voted that His Majesty should be again desir'd, that the Prince might continue about *London*.

Lastly, They Voted a Declaration to be sent to His Majesty by both the Houses, wherein they accuse His Majesty of a Design of altering Religion, tho not directly Him, but them that counsell'd Him; whom they also accus'd of being the Inviters and Fomenters of the *Scotch* War, and Framers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. And upbraid the King again, for accusing the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members: and of being privy to the purpose of bringing up His Army which was rais'd against the *Scots*, to be employ'd

employ'd againſt the Parliament. To which His Majeſty replied from *Newmarket*.

Whereupon it was Reſolv'd by both Houſes, *That in this Caſe of extream Danger, and of His Majeſties Refuſal, the Ordinance agreed upon by both Houſes, for the Militia, doth oblige the People by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. And alſo that whoſoever ſhould execute any Power over the Militia, by colour of any Commiſſion of Lieutenancy, without Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament ſhall be accounted a Diſturber of the Peace of the Kingdome.*

Whereupon His Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes from *Huntingdon*, *Requiring Obedience to the Laws Eſtabliſhed. and prohibiting all Subjects, upon pretence of their Ordinance, to Execute any thing concerning the Militia, which is not by thoſe Laws warranted.*

Upon this the Parliament Vote a ſtanding to their former Votes; as alſo, *That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, which is the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdome ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not only queſtioned, but contradicted, is a high Breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.*

B. I thought that he that makes the Law, ought to declare what the Law is; for what is it elſe to make a Law, but to declare what it is; ſo that they have taken from the King not onely the Militia, but alſo the Legiſlative Power.

A. They have ſo. But I make account the Le-

Legiſlative Power (and indeed all Power poſſible) is contain'd in the Power of the Militia.

After this they ſeize ſuch Mony as was due to His Majeſty upon the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, and upon the Bill of Subſidies, that they might diſable him every way they poſſibly could. They ſent Him alſo many other contumelious Meſſages and Petitions after His coming to *York*, amongſt which one was, *That whereas the Lord Admiral, by indiſpoſition of body, could not command the Fleet in perſon, He would be pleaſed to give Authority to the Earl of* Warwick *to ſupply his place*; when they knew the King had put Sir *John Pennington* in it before.

B. To what End did the King entertain ſo many Petitions, Meſſages, Declarations, and Remonſtrances; and vouchſafe His Anſwers to them, when He could not chooſe but clearly ſee they were reſolved to take from Him His Royal Power, and conſequently His Life? For it could not ſtand with their ſafety, to let either Him or His Iſſue live, after they had done Him ſo great Injuries.

A. Beſides this, the Parliament had at the ſame time a Committee reſiding at *York*, to ſpy what His Majeſty did, and to inform the Parliament thereof; and alſo to hinder the King from gaining the People of that County to His Party: ſo that when His Majeſty was Courting the Gentlemen there, the Committee was Inſti-

gating

gating of the Yeomanry againſt him; to which alſo the Miniſters did very much contribute, ſo that the King loſt his opportunity at *York*.

B. Why did not the King ſeize the Committee into his hand, or drive them out of his Town?

A. I know not; but I believe, he knew the Parliament had a greater Party than he, not only in *Yorkſhire*, but alſo in *York*.

Towards the End of *April* the King, upon Petition of the people of *Yorkſhire*, to have the Magazine of *Hull* to remain ſtill there, for the greater ſecurity of the Northern parts, thought fit to take it into his own hands. He had a little before appointed Governour of the Town the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, but the Townſmen having been already corrupted by the Parliament, refuſed to receive him, but refus'd not to receive Sir *John Hotham*, appointed to be Governor by the Parliament. The King therefore coming before the Town, Guarded only by a few of his own Servants, and a few Gentlemen of the Country thereabouts, was deni'd Entrance by Sir *John Hotham* that ſtood upon the Wall; for which Act, he preſently cauſed Sir *John Hotham* to be proclaim'd Traytor, and ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, requiring Juſtice to be done upon the ſaid *Hotham*, and that the Town and Magazine might be delivered into his hands.

To which the Parliament made no Anſwer, but inſtead thereof publiſhed another Declaration, in which was omitted nothing of their former

former Slanders againſt His Majeſties Government, but inſerted certain Propoſitions declarative of their own pretended Right, *viz.*

I. *That whatſoever they declare to be Law ought not to be queſtion'd by the King.*

II. *That no Precedent can be Limits, to bound their Proceedings.*

III. *That a Parliament, for the publick Good, may diſpoſe of any thing wherein the King or Subject hath a Right; and that they, without the King, are this Parliament, and the Judge of this publick Good, and that the King's conſent is not neceſſary.*

IV. *That no Member of either Houſe ought to be troubled for Treaſon, Felony, or any other Crime, unleſs the Cauſe be firſt brought before the Parliament, that they may judge of the Fact, and give leave to proceed, if they ſee Cauſe.*

V. *That the Sovereign Power reſides in both Houſes; and that the King ought to have no Negative Voice.*

VI. *That the Levying of Forces againſt the Perſonal Commands of the King, (though accompanied with his preſence) is not Levying War againſt the King, but the Levying of War againſt his politick Perſon,* viz. *his Laws,* &c.

VII.

VII. *That Treason cannot be committed against his Person, otherwise than as he is intrusted with the Kingdom, and discharges that Trust; and that they have a Power to judge, whether he hath discharged his Trust, or not.*

VIII. *That they may dispose of the King when they will.*

B. This is plain-dealing, and without hypocrisie; Could the City of *London* swallow this?

A. Yes, and more too, if need be; *London* (you know) has a great Belly, but no palate nor taste of Right and Wrong

In the Parliament Roll of *Henry* IV. amongst the Articles of the Oath the King at his Coronation took, there is one runs thus:

Concedes Justas Leges & Consuetudines esse tenendas, & promites per te eas esse protegendas, & ad honorem Dei corroborandas quas vulgus elegerit.

Which the Parliament urged for their Legislative Authority, and therefore interpret *quas vulgus elegerit*, which the People shall choose; as if the King should swear to protect and corroborate Laws before they were made, whether they be Good or Bad: whereas the words signifie no more, but that he shall protect and corroborate such Laws, as they have chosen; that is to say, the Acts of Parliament then in being.

And

And in the Records of the Exchequer it is thus, *Will you grant to hold and keep the Laws, and rightful Customs, which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have? and will you defend and uphold them,* &c?

And this was the Answer His Majesty made to that Point.

B. I think his Answer very full and clear; but if the words were to be interpreted in the other sense, yet I see no reason why the King should be bound to swear to them; for *Henry* IV. came to the Crown by the Votes of a Parliament, not much inferiour in wickedness to this Long Parliament, that Deposed and Murdered their Lawful *King*, saving that it was not the Parliament it self, but the Usurper that murdered *King Richard* II.

A. About a week after, in the beginning of *May*, the Parliament sent the *King* another Paper, which they stil'd, *The Humble Petition and Advice of both Houses*: Containing nineteen Propositions, which when you shall hear, you shall be able to judge what power they meant to leave to the *King*, more than to any of his Subjects. The first of them is this:

I. *That the Lords, and other of His Majesties Privy Council, and all great Officers of State, both at home and abroad, be put from their Imployments, and from his Council, save only such as should be approved of by both Houses of Parliament; and none put into their places, but by approbation of the*

said Houses. And that all Privy Councillors take an Oath for the due Execution of their places, in such form as shall be agreed upon by the said Houses.

II. *That the great Affairs of the Kingdom be Debated, Resolv'd and Transacted only in Parliament; and such as will presume to do any thing to the contrary to be reserv'd to the Censure of the Parliament; and such other Matters of State as are proper for His Majesties Privy Council, shall be Debated and Concluded by such as shall from time to time be chosen for that place by both Houses of Parliament. And that no Publick Act concerning the affairs of the Kingdom which are proper for his Privy Council, be esteemed valid, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the Major part of the Council, attested under their Hands; and that the Councill be not more than 25, nor less than 15; and that when a Councillors place falls, it shall not be supplied, without the Assent of the Major part of the Council; and that such Choice also shall be void, if the next Parliament after confirm it not.*

III. *That the Lord High Steward of* England, *Lord High Constable, Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl Marshal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chief Governor of* Ireland, *Chancellor of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards. Secretaries of State, two Chief Justices and Chief Baron, be always chosen with the Approbation of both*

both Houſes of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Major part of the Privy Council.

IV. *That the Government of the King's Children ſhall be committed to ſuch as both Houſes ſhall approve of; and in the Intervals of Parliament, ſuch as the Privy Council ſhall approve of, that the Servants then about them, againſt whom the Houſes have juſt exception, ſhould be remov'd.*

V. *That no Marriage be concluded, or treated of, for any of the King's Children, without conſent of Parliament.*

VI. *That the Laws in force againſt Jeſuites, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, be ſtrictly put in execution.*

VII. *That the Votes of Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers be taken away; and that a Bill be paſſed for the Education of the Children of Papiſts in the Proteſtant Religion.*

VIII. *That the King will be pleas'd to reform the Church-Government and Liturgy, in ſuch manner as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall adviſe.*

IX. *That he would be pleaſed to reſt ſatisfied with that courſe the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering the Militia, and recall his Declarations and Proclamations againſt it.*

X. *That such Members as have been put out of any Place or Office since this Parliament began, may be restor'd, or have satisfaction.*

XI. *That all Privy Councillors and Judges take an Oath, the form whereof shall be agreed on, and setled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by the Parliament.*

XII. *That all the Judges and Officers placed by Approbation of both Houses of Parliament, may hold their places* quamdiu bene se gesserint.

XIII. *That the Justice of Parliament may pass upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it; and that all persons cited by either House of Parliament, may appear and abide the Censure of Parliament.*

XIV. *That the General Pardon offered by his Majesty, be granted with such Exceptions as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.*

B. What a spightful Article was this? All the rest proceeded from Ambition, which many times well-natur'd men are subject to; but this proceeded from an inhumane and deviliſh cruelty.

A. XV. *That the Forts and Castles be putunder

der the command of such Persons, as with the Approbation of the Parliament the King shall appoint.

XVI. *That the extraordinary Guards about the King be discharged, and for the future none raised but according to the Law, in case of actual Rebellion or Invasion.*

B. Methinks these very propositions sent to the King, are an actual Rebellion.

A. XVII. *That his Majesty enter into a more strict Alliance with the* United Provinces, *and other Neighbour Protestant Princes and States.*

XVIII. *That his Majesty be pleased, by Act of Parliament, to clear the Lord* Kimbolton, *and the Five Members of the House of Commons, in such manner, as that future Parliaments may be secur'd from the consequence of evil Precedent.*

XIX. *That His Majesty be pleased to pass a Bill for restraining Peers, made hereafter from sitting or voting in Parliament, unless they be admitted with consent of both Houses of Parliament. These Propositions granted, they promise to apply themselves to regulate His Majesties Revenue to his best advantage, and to settle it to the support of his Royal Dignity, in Honour and Plenty; and also to put the Town of* Hull *into such hands as His Majesty shall appoint, with consent of Parliament.*

B. Is not that to put it into such hands as His Majesty shall appoint by the consent of the Petitioners, which is no more than to keep it in their hands, as it is? Did they want, or think the King wanted common sense, so as not to perceive that their promise herein was worth nothing?

A. After the sending of these propositions to the King and His Majesties refusal to grant them, they began on both sides to prepare for War, the King raising a Guard for his Person in *Yorkshire*, and the Parliament thereupon having Voted; *That the King intended to make War upon his Parliament*, gave Order for the Mustering and Exercising the People in Arms, and published Propositions to invite and encourage them to bring in either ready Money or Plate, or to promise under their hands to maintain certain numbers of Horse, Horsemen and Arms, for the defence of the King and Parliament, (meaning by King, as they had formerly declar'd, not his Person, but his Laws) promising to repay their Money with Interest of 8 *l.* in the hundred, and the value of their Plate with 12 *d.* the ounce for the fashion. On the other side the King came to *Nottingham*, and there did set up his standard Royal, and sent out Commissioners of Array to call those to him, which by the ancient Laws of *England* were bound to serve him in the Wars. Upon this occasion there passed divers Declarations between the King and Parliament, concerning the Legality of this Array, which are too long to tell you at this time.

B. Nor

B. Nor do I desire to hear any Mooting about this Question, for I think that general law of *Salus Populi*, and the Right of defending himself against those that had taken from him the Sovereign Power, are sufficient to make Legal whatsoever he should do, in order to the recovery of his Kingdom, or the punishing of the Rebels.

A. In the mean time the Parliament raised an Army, and made the Earl of *Essex* General thereof; by which Act they declar'd what they meant formerly, when they Petition'd the King for a Guard to be commanded by the said Earl of *Essex*. And now the King sends out his Proclamations, forbidding Obedience to the Orders of the Parliament concerning the Militia; and the Parliament send out Orders against the Executions of the Commissions of Array; hitherto (though it were a War before) yet there was no Blood shed, they shot at one another nothing but Paper.

B. I understand now how the Parliament destroy'd the peace of the Kingdom, and how easily, by the help of seditious *Presbyterian* Ministers, and of ambitious ignorant Orators, they reduced the Government into Anarchy: but I believe it will be a harder task for them to bring in Peace again, and settle the Government either in themselves, or in any other Governor or form of Government; for granting that they obtain'd the Victory in this War, they must be beholding for it to the Valor, good Conduct, or Felicity of

those to whom they give the Command of their Armies, especially to the General, whose good success will, without doubt, bring with it the love and admiration of the Soldiers; so that it will be in his power either to take the Government upon himself, or to place it where himself thinks good. In which Case, if he take it not to himself, he will be thought a Fool; and if he do, he shall be sure to have the Envy of his subordinate Commanders, who will look for a share either in the present Government, or in the Succession to it; for they will say, has he obtain'd this Power by his own without our Danger, Valor and Council? And must we be his Slaves, whom we have thus rais'd? Or is not there as much Justice on our side against him, as was on his side against the King?

A. They will and did, insomuch that the reason why *Cromwel*, after he had gotten into his own hands the absolute Power of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the name of Protector, did never dare to take upon him the Title of King, nor was ever able to settle it upon his Children, his Officers would not suffer it; as pretending after his death to succeed him; nor would the Army consent to it, because he had ever declared to them against the Government of a Single Person.

B. But to return to the King, What Means had he to pay? What Provision had he to Arm, nay Means to Levy an Army, able to resist the Army of the Parliament, maintained by the great

great Purſe of the City of *London*, and Contributions of almoſt all the Towns Corporate in *England*, and furniſhed with Arms as fully as they could require?

A. 'Tis true, the King had great diſadvantages, and yet by little and little he got a conſiderable Army, with which he ſo proſpered, as to grow ſtronger every day, and the Parliament weaker, till they had gotten the *Scotch* with an Army of 21000 Men to come into *England* to their aſſiſtance; but to enter into the particular Narrative of what was done in the War, I have not now time.

B. Well then, we will talk of that at next meeting.

B. WE left at the preparations on both ſides for War, which when I conſidered by my ſelf, I was mightily puzled to find out what poſſibility there was for the King to equal the Parliament in ſuch a courſe, and what hopes He had of Money, Men, Arms, Fortified Places, Shipping, Council, and Military Offices, ſufficient for ſuch an Enterprize againſt the Parliament, that had Men and Money as much at command, as the City of *London*, and other Corporation Towns were able to furniſh, which was more than they needed. And for the Men they ſhould ſet forth for Soldiers, they were almoſt all of them ſpightfully bent againſt the King, and his whole Party, whom they took to be either Papiſts, or Flatterers of the King, or that had deſign'd to raiſe their Fortunes by the Plunder of the City, and other corporation Towns; aud though I believe not that they were more valiant than other Men, nor that they had ſo much experience in the War, as to be accounted good Soldiers; yet they had that in them, which in time of Battel is more conducing to Victory than Valor, and experience both together, and that was Spight.

And for Arms, they had in their hands the chief Magazines, the Tower of *London*, and *Kingſton*

Kingston upon *Hull*, beſides moſt of Powder and ſhot that lay in ſeveral Towns, for the uſe of the Trained Bands.

Fortified places there were not many then in *England*, and moſt of them in the hands of the Parliament.

The King's Fleet was wholly in their Command under the Earl of *Warwick*; Councillors they needed no more, than ſuch as were of their own Body, ſo that the King was every way inferiour to them, except it were perhaps in Officers.

A. I cannot compare their chief Officers for the Parliament, the Earl of *Eſſex* (after the Parliament had Voted the War) was made General of all their Forces, both in *England* and *Ireland*, from whom, all other Commanders were to receive their Commiſſions.

B. What moved them to make the Earl of *Eſſex* General? And for what cauſe was the Earl of *Eſſex* ſo diſpleaſed with the King, as to accept that Office?

A. I do not certainly know what to anſwer to either of thoſe Queſtions, but the Earl of *Eſſex* had been in the Wars abroad, and wanted neither Experience, Judgement nor Courage to perform ſuch an undertaking; and beſides that, you have heard, (I believe) how great a Darling of the people his Father had been before him; and what honour he had got by the ſucceſs of his Enterprize upon *Cales*, and in ſome other Military actions.

To

To which I may add, That this Earl himself was not held by the People to be so great a Favourite at Court, as that they might not trust him with their Army against the King, and by this you may perhaps conjecture the cause for which the Parliament made choice of him for General.

B. But why did they think him discontented with the Court?

A. I know not that, nor indeed that he was so; he came to Court as other Noblemen did, when occasion was to wait upon the King, but had no Office till a little before this time, to oblige him to be there continually; but I believe verily, that the unfortunateness of his Marriage, had so discountenanced his Conversation with Ladies, that the Court could be his proper Element, unless he had had some extraordinary favour there, to ballance that calamity for particular discontent from the King, or intention of revenge for any supposed disgrace, I think he had none; nor that he was any ways addicted to *Presbyterian* Doctrine, or other Fanatick Tenets in Church or State saving only that he was carried away with the stream, (in a manner) of the whole Nation, to think that *England* was not an absolute, but a mixt Monarchy, not considering that the Supreme Power must alwaies be absolute, whether it be in the King or in the Parliament.

B. Who was General of the King's Army?

A. None

A. None yet but Himself, nor indeed had He yet any Army but there, coming to him at that time two Nephews, the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*; He put the Command of His Horse into the hands of Prince *Rupert*, a Man then whom no man living has a better courage, nor was more active and diligent in prosecuting his Commission; and though but a young man then, was not without experience in the conducting of Souldiers, as having been an Actor in part of his Father Wars in *Germany*.

B. But how would the King find money to pay such an Army as was necessary for Him, against the Parliament?

A. Neither the King nor Parliament had much money at that time in their own hands, but were fain to relie upon the Benevolence of those that took their parts, wherein (I confess) the Parliament had a mighty great advantage; those that helped the King in that kind, were only Lords and Gentlemen, which not approving the proceedings of the Parliament, were willing to undertake the payment every one of a certain number of Horse, which cannot be thought any very great assistance, the persons that payed them being so few; for other Monies that the *King* then had, I have not heard of any but what he borrow'd upon Jewels in the *Low-Countries*; whereas the Parliament had a very plentiful Contribution, not only from *London*, but generally from their Faction in all other places of *England*, upon certain Propositi-

ons,

ons, (publiſhed by the Lords and Commons in *June* 1642.) at which time they had newly Voted, That the King intended to make War upon them, for bringing in of Money or Plate, to maintain Horſe and Horſemen, and to buy Arms for the preſervation of the Publick Peace, and for the defence of the *King*, and both Houſes of Parliament; for the Re-payment of which Money and Plate, they were to have the *Publick Faith.*

B. What *Publick Faith* is there, when there is no *Publick?* What is it that can be call'd *Publick*, in a Civil War, without the *King?*

A. The Truth is, the Security was nothing worth, but ſerv'd well enough to gull thoſe ſeditious Blockheads that were more fond of change, than either of their peace or profit, having by this means gotten Contributions from thoſe that were the well-affected to their Cauſe, they made uſe of it afterwards, to force the like Contribution from others; for in *November* following, they made an Ordinance for Aſſeſſing alſo of thoſe that had not Contributed then, or had Contributed, but not proportionably to their Eſtates. And yet this was contrary to what the Parliament promiſed and declar'd in the Propoſitions themſelves; for they declar'd in the firſt Propoſition, *That no mans Affection ſhould be meaſured by the proportion of his Offer, ſo that he expreſſed his good will to the Service in any proportion whatſoever.*

Beſides

Beſides this, in the beginning of *March* following, they made an Ordinance to Levy weekly a great Sum of money upon every County, City, Town, Place and Perſon of any Eſtate almoſt in *England*; which weekly Sum (as may appear by the Ordinance it ſelf, printed and publiſhed in *March* 1642 by Order of both Houſes) comes to almoſt 33000 *l.* and conſequently to above 2700000 *l.* for the year. They had, beſides all this, the Profits of the King's Lands and Woods, and whatſoever was remaining unpaid of any Subſidy formerly granted him, and the Tunnage and Poundage uſually received by the King, beſides the profit of the Sequeſtration of great perſons, whom they pleas'd to vote Delinquents, and the profits of the Biſhops Lands which they took to themſelves a year or a little more after.

B. Seeing then the Parliament had ſuch advantage of the King in Money, Arms, and multitude of Men, and had in their hands the King's Fleet, I cannot imagine what hope the King could have either of Victory (unleſs He reſingn'd into their hands the Sovereignty, or ſubſiſting:) for I cannot well beleive He had any advantage of them either in Councillors, Conducts, or in the Reſolution of his Soldiers.

A. On the contrary, I think He had alſo ſome diſadvantage in that; for though He had as good Officers at leaſt as any then ſerv'd the Parliament, yet I doubt He had not ſo uſeful Council as was neceſſary. And for His Soldiers, though they

they were Men as ſtout as theirs, yet becauſe their Valor was not ſharpned ſo with Malice, as theirs was of the other ſide, they fought not ſo keenly was their Enemies did, amogſt whom there was a great many *London* Apprentiſes, who, for want of experience in the War, wnuld have been fearful enough of death and wounds approaching viſibly in glittering Swords, but for want of judgment ſcarce thought of ſuch a death as comes inviſibly in a Bullet, and therefore were very hardly to be driven out of the Field.

B. But what falt do you find in the King's Councils, Lords, and other Perſons of Quality and Experience?

A. Only that fault which was generally in the whole Nation, which was, That they thought the Government of *England* was not an abſolute, but a mixt Monarchy; and that if the King ſhould clearly ſubdue this Parliament, that His power would be what He pleaſed, and theirs as little as He pleaſed, which they counted Tyranny. This opinion, though it did not leſſen their endeavors to gain the Victory for the King in a Battel, when the Battle could not be avoided, yet it weakned their endeavors to procure him an abſolute Victory in the War. And for this cauſe, notwithſtanding that they ſaw that the Parliament was firmly reſolv'd to take all *King*-ly power whatſoever out of His Hands, yet their Council to the *King* was upon all occaſions to offer Propoſitions to them of Treaty and Accommodation, and to make and publiſh Declarations which

which any Man might easily have foreseen would be fruitless; and not only so, but also of great disadvantage to those Actions by which the King was to recover His Crown, and preserve His Life; for it took off the courage of the best and forwardest of his Soldiers that lookt for great benefit out of the Estates of the Rebels in case they could subdue them, but none at all if the business should be ended by a Treaty.

B. And they had reason, for a Civil War never ends by Treaty, without the Sacrifice of those, who were on both sides the sharpest. You know well enough how things past the Reconciliation of *Augustus* and *Antonius* in *Rome*. But I thought that after they once began to Levy Soldiers one against another, that they would not any more have return'd of either side to Declarations, or other Paper War, which if it could have done any good, would have done it long before this.

A. But seeing the Parliament continued writing, and set forth their Declarations to the People against the Lawfulness of the King's Commission of Array, and sent Petitions to the King as fierce and rebellious as ever they had done before, demanding of him, That he would disband his Soldiers, and come up to the Parliament, and leave those whom the Parliament called Delinquents, (which were none but the King's best Subjects) to their Mercy, and pass such Bills as they should advise Him. Would you not have the King set forth Declarations and Proclamations, against the Illegality of their Ordinan-

Ordinances, by which they Levied Souldiers againſt him, and anſwer thoſe inſolent Petitions of theirs?

B. No, it had done him no good before, and therefore was not likely to do him any afterwards; for the common People, whoſe hands were to decide the Controverſie, underſtood not the Reaſons of either Party; and for thoſe that by Ambition were once ſet upon the Enterprize of changing the Government, they care not much what was Reaſon and Juſtice, in the Cauſe, but what Strength they might procure, by reducing the multitude with Remonſtrances from the Parliament-Houſe, or by Sermons in the Churches; and to their Petitions, I would not have had any anſwer at all more than this, That if they would disband their Army, and put themſelves upon his Mercy, they ſhould find Him more gracious than they expected.

A. That had been a gallant anſwer indeed, if it had proceeded from Him after ſome extraordinary great Victory in Battel, or ſome extraordinary aſſurance of a Victory at laſt in the whole War.

B. Why, what could have hapned to Him worſe, than at length He ſuffered, notwithſtanding in His gentle anſwer, and all his reaſonable Declarations?

A. Nothing, but, who knew that?

B. Any Man might ſee, that He was never like to be reſtor'd to His Right without Victory, and ſuch His Statutes being known to the Peo-

ple,

ple, would have brought to His assistance many more hands, than all the arguments of Law, or force of Eloquence, couched in Declarations, and other Writings, could have done by far; and I wonder what kind of Men they were, that hindered the King from taking this Resolution.

A. You may know by the Declarations themselves, which are very long, and full of Quotations of Records, and of Cases formerly Reported, that the Penners of them were either Lawyers by Profession, or such Gentlemen as had the ambition to be thought so. Besides, I told you before, that those which were then likeliest to have their counsel asked in this business, were averse to absolute Monarchy, as also to absolute Democracy, or Aristocracy; all which Governments they esteemed Tyranny, and were in love with Monarchy; which they us'd to praise by the name of mixt Monarchy, though it were indeed nothing else but pure Anarchy: and those Men whose Pens the King most us'd in these Controversies of Law, and Politick, were such (if I have not been mis-informed) as having been Members of this Parliament, had declaimed against Ship-money, and other Extra-Parliamentary Taxes, as much as any: but when they saw the Parliament grow higher in their demands, than they thought they would have done, went over to the King's Party.

B. Who were those?

A. It is not necessary to name any man, seeing I have undertaken only a short Narration of the Follies

Follies and other Faults of Men during this trouble, but not (by naming of persons) to give you or any man else occasion to esteem them the less, now that the Faults on all sides have been forgiven.

B. When the Business was brought to this height, by levying of Souldiers, and seizing on the Navy, Arms, and other Provisions on both sides, that no Man was so blind, as not to see they were in an estate of War one against another, why did not the *King* (by Proclamation or Message) according to His undoubted Right, Dissolve the Parliament, and thereby diminish in some part the Authority of their Levies, and of other their unjust Ordinances?

A. You have forgotten that I told you that the *King* Himself, by a Bill that He passed at the same time when he passed the Bill for the Execution for the Earl of *Strafford*, had given them Authority to hold the Parliament, till they should by consent of both Houses dissolve themselves: If therefore He had by any Proclamation or Message to the Houses dissolv'd them, they would, to their former Defamations of His Majesties actions, have added this, That He was a Breaker of His Word, and not only in contempt of him, have continued their Session, but also have made advantage of it, to the increase and strengthening of their own Party.

B. Would not the *King*'s raising of an Army against them, be interpreted as a purpose to dissolve them by force? And was it not as great a breach

breach of promiſe to ſcatter them by force, as to diſſolve them by Proclamation? Beſides, I cannot conceive that the paſſing of that Act was otherwiſe intended than conditionally, ſo long as they ſhould not ordain any thing contrary to the Sovereign Right of the King' which condition they had already by many of their Ordinances broken; and, I think, that even by the Law of Equity, which is the unalterable Law of Nature, a man that has the Sovereign Power cannot, if he would, give away the right of any thing which is neceſſary for him to retain, for the good Government of his Subjects, unleſs he do it in expreſs words, ſaying, That he will have the Sovereign Power no longer; for the giving away that which by conſequence only draws the Sovereignty along with it, is not (I think) a giving away of the Sovereignty, but an error, ſuch as work nothing but an invalidity in the Grant it ſelf. And ſuch was the King's paſſing this Bill, for the continuing of the Parliament, as long as the Two Houſes pleas'd. But now that the war was reſolv'd on, on both ſides, what needed any more diſpute in writings?

A. I know not what need they had, but on both ſides they thought it needful to hinder one another as much as they could from levying of Soldiers, and therefore the King did ſet forth Declarations in Print; to make the people know that they ought not to obey the Officers of the new Militia ſet up by Ordinance of Parliament, and

and alſo to let them ſee the Legality of His own Commiſſions of Array; and the Parliament on their part did the like, to juſtifie to the people the ſaid Ordinance, and to make the Commiſſion of Array appear unlawful.

B. When the Parliament were Levying of Soldiers, was it not lawful for the *King* to Levy Soldiers, to defend Himſelf and His Right, though there had been no other Title for it, but His own preſervation, and that the name of Commiſſion of *Array* had never been heard of?

A. For my part, I think there cannot be a better Title for War, than the defence of a Man's own Right, but the People at that time thought nothing lawful for the King to, for which there was not ſome Statute made by Parliament. For the Lawyers, I mean the Judges of the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, and ſome few others, though but *Advocates*, yet of great Reputation for their skill in the Common Laws, and Statutes of *England*, had infected moſt of the Gentry of *England* with their Maxims and Caſes prejudg'd, which they call *Precedents*, and made them think ſo well of their own knowledge in the Law, that they were of this occaſion to ſhew it againſt the King, and thereby to gain a Reputation with the *Parliament*, of being good Patriots, and wiſe Stateſmen.

B. What was this Commiſſion of *Array*?

A. King

A. King *William* the Conqueror had gotten into his hands by Victory, all the Lands in *England*, of which he diſpoſed ſome part, as Foreſts and Chaces for his own Recreation, and ſome part to Lords and Gentlemen; that had aſſiſted him, or were to aſſiſt him in the Wars; upon which he laid a charge of ſervice in his Wars, ſome with more Men, and ſome with leſs, according to the Lands he had given them; whereby, when the King ſent Men unto them with Commiſſion to make uſe of their ſervice, they were obliged to appear with Arms, and to accompany the King to the Wars, for a certain time at their own Charges, and ſuch were the Commiſſions by which this King did then make his Levies.

B. Why then was it not Legal?

A. No doubt but it was Legal, but what did that amount to with Men that were already reſolv'd to acknowledge for Law, nothing that was againſt their deſign of aboliſhing Monarchy and placing a Sovereign and abſolute Arbitrary power in the Houſe of Commons.

A. To deſtroy Monarchy, and ſet up the Houſe of Commons are two Buſineſſes.

A. They found it ſo at laſt, but did not think it ſo then.

B. Let us come now to the Military power.

A. I intended only the Story of their Injuſtice, Impudence and Hypocriſie; therefore for

for the proceeding of the War, I refer you to the History thereof, written at large in *English*.

I shall only make use of such a Thread as is necessary for the filling up of such *Knavery* and Folly also, as I shall observe in their several Actions.

From *York* the *King* went to *Hull*, where was His Magazine of Arms for the Northern Parts of *England*, to try if they would admit Him; the *Parliament* had made Sir *John Hotham* Governor of the Town, who caused the Gates to be shut, and presenting himself upon the walls, flatly denied Him entrance; for which the *King* caused him to be proclaim'd Traytor, and sent a Message to the *Parliament* to know if they own'd the Actions?

B. Upon what grounds?

A. Their pretence was this, That neither this, nor any other Town in *England* was otherwise the *Kings*, than in Trust for the People of *England*.

B. But what was that to the *Parliament*?

A. Yes, say they, for we are the Representative of the *People* of *England*.

B. I cannot see the force of this Argument: We represent the *People*; *Ergo*, all that the *People* has is ours: The Mayor of *Hull* did represent the *King*, Is therefore all the *King* had in *Hull* the Mayor's? The *People* of *England* may

may be represented with Limitations, as to deliver a Petition, or the like, does it follow, that they who deliver the Petition, have Right to all the Towns in *England*? When began this Parliament to be a representative of *England*? Was it not *November* 3. 1640? Who was it the day before that had the Right to keep the King out of *Hull*, and possess it for themselves? For there was then no Parliament, whose was *Hull* then?

A. I think it was the King's; not only because it was called the King's Town upon *Hull*, but because the King Himself did then and ever represent the Person of the People of *England*. If He did not, who then did, the Parliament having no Being?

B. They might perhaps say, the People had then no Representative.

A. Then there was no Common-wealth, and consequently all the Towns of *England* being the Peoples you and I, and any Man else, might have put in for his share. You may see by this, what weak People they were, that were carried into the Rebellion, by such weak reasoning as this Parliament used; and how impudent they were, that did put such Fallacies upon them.

B. Surely they were such, as were esteem'd the wisest Men in *England*, being upon that account chosen to be the Parliament.

A. And were they also esteem'd the wisest Men of *England*, that chose them?

B. I cannot tell that; for I know it is usuall with the Free-holders in the Counties, and the Tradesmen in the Cities and Burroughs to choose, as neer as they can, such as are most repugnant to the giving of subsidies.

A. The King in the beginning of *August*, after He had summon'd *Hull*, and tryed some of the Counties thereabout, what they would do for Him, set up His Standard at *Nottingham*, but there came not in thither Men enough to make any Army sufficient to give Battel to the Earl of *Essex*.

From thence He went to *Shrewsbury*, where He was quickly furnished; and appointing the Earl of *Linsey* to be General, He resolv'd to march towards *London*.

The Earl of *Essex* was at *Worcester* with the Parliament Army, making no offer to stop Him in His passage, but as soon as he was gone by, marched close after Him.

The King therefore, to avoid being inclosed between the Army of the Earl of *Essex*, and the City of *London*, turned upon him, and gave him Battel at *Edge-hill*; where, though He got not an intire Victory, yet he had the better, if either had the better; and had certainly the fruit of a Victory which was to march on, in his intended way towards *London*, in which the next morning He took *Banbury* Castle, and from thence went to

Oxford

Oxford, and thence to *Brentford*, where he gave a great Defeat to Three Regiments of the Parliaments Forces, and so return'd to *Oxford*.

B. Why did not the King go on from *Brentford*?

A. The Parliament, upon the first notice of the King's marching from *Shrewsbury*, caused all the Trained Bands, and the Auxiliaries of the City of *London* (which were so frighted, as to shut up all their shops) to be drawn forth; so that there was a complete and numerous Army ready for the Earl of *Essex*, that was crept into *London* just at that time to head it, and this was it that made the King retire to *Oxford*.

In the beginning of *February* after, Prince *Rupert* took *Cirencester* from the Parliament, with many Prisoners, and many Arms, for it was newly made a Magazine. And thus stood the business between the King's and the Parliaments Forces.

The Parliament in the mean time, caused a Line of Communication to be made about *London*, and the Suburbs, of 12 miles in compass, and constituted a Committee for the Association, and the putting into a posture of defence the Counties of *Essex*, *Cambridge*, *Suffolk*, and some others; and one of those Commissioners was *Oliver Cromwel*, from which employment he came to his following greatness.

B. What was done during this time, in other Parts of the Countrey?

A. In the weſt, the Earl of *Stamford* had the employment of putting in execution the Ordinance of Parliament for the Militia; and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, for the King, executed the Commiſſion of Array. Between thoſe two was fought a Battel at *Liſcard* in *Cornwal*; where Sir *Ralph Hopton* had the Victory, and preſently took a Town called *Saltaſh*, with many Arms, and much Ordnance, and many Priſoners. Sir *william Waller* in the mean time ſeized *Wincheſter* and *Chicheſter* for the Parliament.

In the North, for the Commiſſion of Array, my Lord of *Newcaſtle*; and for the Militia of the Parliament, was my Lord *Fairfax*, My Lord of *Newcaſtle* took from the Parliament *Tadcaſter*, in which were a great part of the Parliaments Forces for that County, and had made himſelf in a manner, Maſter of all the Norrh, about this time, that is to ſay in *February*; the Queen landed at *Barlington*, and was conducted by my Lord of *Newcaſtle*, and the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, to *York*; and not long after to the King.

Divers other little advantages, beſides theſe had the King's Party of the parliaments in the North.

There hapned alſo between the Militia of the Parliament, the Commiſſion of Array in *Staffordſhire*, under my Lord *Brook* for the Parliament, and my Lord of *Northampton* for the King great

great contention, wherein both theſe Commanders were ſlain; for my Lord *Brook* beſieging *Lichfield-Cloſe*, was kill'd with a ſhot, notwithſtanding which they gave not over the Siege, till they were Maſters of the *Cloſe*. But preſently after my Lord of *Northampton* beſieged it again for the King, which to relieve, Sir *William Brereſton*, and Sir *John Gell* advanced towards *Lichfield*, and were met at *Hopton heath* by the Earl of *Northampton*, and routed; the Earl himſelf was ſlain, but his Forces with Victory return'd to the Siege again; and ſhortly after ſeconded by Prince *Rupert*, who was then abroad in that Countrey, carried the place.

Theſe were the chief Actions of this year 1641. wherein the King's Party had not much the worſe.

B. But the Parliament had now a better Army, inſomuch that if the Earl of *Eſſex* had immediately followed the King to *Oxford* (not yet well fortified) he might, in all likelihood, have taken it; for he could not want either Men or Ammunition, whereof the City of *London* (which was wholly at the Parliaments devotion) had ſtore enough.

A. I cannot judge of that; but this is manifeſt, conſidering the eſtate the King was in at his firſt marching from *York*, when He had neither Money, nor Men, nor Arms enough, to put Him in hope of Victory, that this year (take it altogether) was very proſperous.

B But what great Folly or Wickedneſs do you obſerve in the Parliaments Actions for this firſt year?

A. All that can be ſaid againſt them in that point, will be excus'd with the pretext of War, and come under one Name of Rebellion, ſaving that when they ſummoned any Town, it was alwaies in the Name of the King and Parliament.

The King being in the contrary Army, and many times beating them from the Siege, I do not ſee how the right of War can juſtifie ſuch Impudence as that. But they pretended that the King was alwaies vertually in the Two Houſes of Parliament making a diſtinction between His Perſon Natural and Politique, which made the Impudence the greater, beſides the folly of it: For this was but an Univerſity Quibble, ſuch as Boyes make uſe of, in maintaining (in the Schools) ſuch Tenets as they cannot otherwiſe defend.

In the end of this year, they ſollicited alſo the *Scots* to enter *England*, with an Army to ſuppreſs the power of the Earl of *Newcaſtle* in the North, which was a plain Confeſſion, that the Parliament Forces were at this time inferior to the Kings; and moſt Men thought, that if the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had then marched Southward, and joined his Forces with the Kings, that moſt of the Members of Parliament would have fled out of *England*.

In

In the beginning of 164.3. the Parliament seeing the Earl of *Newcastle's* power in the North grown formidable, sent to the *Scots*, to hire them to an invasion of *England*; and (to Compliment them in the mean time) made a Covenant among themselves, such as the *Scots* before had made against Episcopacy, and demolished Crosses, and Church-windows, (such as had in them any Images of Saints) throughout all *England*.

Also in the middle of the year, they made a Solemn League with the Nation, which was called, *The Solemn League and Covenant*.

B. Are not the *Scots* as properly to be called Foreigners, as the *Irish*? seeing then they persecuted the Earl of *Strafford*, even to death, for advising the King to make use of *Irish* Forces against the Parliament; with what face could they call in a *Scotch* Army against the King?

A. The King's Party might easily here have discern'd their design, to make themselves absolute Masters of the Kingdom, and to dethrone the King.

Another great Impudence, or rather a Bestial Incivility it was of theirs, That they Voted the Queen a Traytor, for helping the King with some Ammunition, and *English* Forces, from *Holland*.

B. Was it possible that all this could be done, and Men not see that Papers and Declarations

muſt be uſeleſs? And that nothing could ſatisfie them, but the Depoſing of the King, and ſetting up of themſelves in His place.

A. Yes, very poſſible, for who was there of them, though knowing that the King had the Sovereign Power, that knew the Eſſential Rights of Sovereignty? They dreamt of a mixt Power of the King and the Two Houſes, That it was a divided Power, in which there could be no Peace, was above their underſtanding; therefore they were alwaies urging the King to Declarations, and Treaties, (for fear of ſubjecting themſelves to the King in an abſolute Obedience) which increaſed the hope and courage of the Rebels, but did the King little good; for the People either underſtand not, or will not trouble themſelves with Controverſies in writing, but rather by his compliance by Meſſages, go away with an opinion, That the Parliament was likely to have the Victory in the War.

Beſides, ſeeing that the Penners and Contrivers of thoſe Papers, were formerly Members of the Parliament, and of another mind, and now revolted from the Parliament, becauſe they could not bear that ſway in the Houſe which they expected, Men were apt to think, they believed not what they wrote.

As for Military Actions (to begin at the Head-quarters) Prince *Rupert* took *Brinningram*, a Garriſon of the Parliaments.

In

In *July*, after the King's Forces had a great Victory over the Parliaments near *Devizes* on *Roundway-down*, where they took 2000 Priſoners, four Braſs Pieces of Ordnance, 28 Colours, and all their Baggage. And ſhortly after *Briſtol* was ſurrendr'd to Prince *Rupert* for the King; and the King Himſelf marching into the Weſt took from the Parliament many other conſiderable places.

But this good fortune was not a little allay'd by His beſieging of *Gloceſter*, which, after it was reduc'd to the laſt gaſp, was reliev'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Army was before greatly waſted, but now recruited with Train'd Bands, and Apprentices of *London*.

B. It ſeems not only by this, but alſo by many Examples in Hiſtory, That there can hardly ariſe a long or dangerous Rebelion, that has not ſome ſuch overgrown City, with an Army or two in its belly, to foment it.

A. Nay more, thoſe great Capital Cities, when Rebellion is upon pretence of Grievances, muſt needs be of the Rebel Party, becauſe the Grievances are but Taxes to which Citizens, that is Merchants, whoſe profeſſion is their private gain, are naturally mortal Enemies, their onely glory being to grow exceſſively rich, by the wiſdom of buying and ſelling.

B. But they are ſaid to be, of all Callings, the moſt beneficial to the Commonwealth, by ſetting the poorer ſort of people on work.

R. That is to say, by making poor people sell their labour to them at their own prizes, so that poor people, for the most part, might get a better Living by working in *Bridewell*, than by spinning, weaving, and other such labour as they can do, saving that by working slightly, they may help themselves a little, to the disgrace of our Manufacture. And as most commonly they are the first Encouragers of Rebellion, presuming in their strength; so also are they, for the most part, the first to repent, deceiv'd by them that command their strength.

But to return to the War: Though the King withdrew from *Glocester*, yet it was not to flie from, but to fight with the Earl of *Essex*, which presently after He did at *Newbury* where the Battel was bloody, and the King had not the worst, unless *Cirencester* be put into the Scale, which the Earl of *Essex* had in his way a few days before surpriz'd.

But in the North and the west the King had much the better of the Parliament; for in the North, at the beginning of the year, *May* 29. the Earls of *Newcastle* and *Cumberland* defeated the Lord *Fairfax* (who commanded in those Parts for the Parliament) at *Bramham-moor*, which made the Parliament to hasten the assistance of the *Scots*.

In *June* following, the Earl of *Newcastle* routed Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (Son to the Lord *Fairfax*) upon *Adderton Heath*, and in pursuit of them

them to *Bradford*, took and killed 2000 men, and the next day took the Town, and 2000 Prisoners more, (Sir *Thomas* himself hardly escaping) with all their Arms and Ammunition; and besides, this made the Lord *Fairfax* quit *Halifax*, and *Beverly*.

Lastly, Prince *Rupert* reliev'd *Newark*, besieged by Sir *John Meldrum*, for the Parliament, with 7000 men, whereof 1000 were slain, the rest upon Articles departed, leaving behind them their Arms, Bag and Baggage.

To ballance in part this success, the Earl of *Manchester*, whose Lieutenant General was *Oliver Cromwel*, got a Victory over the Royalists near *Horn-Castle*, of which he slew 400, took 800 Prisoners, and 1000 Arms, and presently after took and plundered the City of *Lincoln*.

In the West, *May* 16. Sir *Ralph Hopton* at *Stratton* in *Devonshire*, had a Victory over the *Parliamentarians*, wherein he took 1700 Prisoners, 13 Brass Pieces of Ordnance, and all their Ammunition, which was 70 Barrels of Powder, and their Magazine of their other Provisions in the Town.

Again, at *Landsdown*, between Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and the *Parliamentarians* under Sir *William Waller*, was fought a fierce Battel, wherein the Victory was not very clear on either side, saving that the *Parliamentarians* might seem to have the better, because presently after Sir *William Waller*

Waller follow'd Sir *Ralph Hopton* to *Devizes* in *Wiltshire*, though to his cost; for there he was overthrown, as I have already told you.

After this, the King in Person marched into the west, and took *Exeter*, *Dorcester*, *Barnstable*, and divers other places, and had He not at His Return besieged *Gloucester*, and thereby giving the Parliament time for new Levies, 'twas thought by many He might have routed the House of Commons. But the end of this year was more favourable to the Parliament; from *January* the *Scots* entered *England*, and *March* the first crossed the *Tyne*; and whil'st the Earl of *Newcastle* Was marching to them, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* gathered together a considerable Party in *Yorkshire*, and the Earl of *Manchester* from *Lyn* advanced towards *York*; so that the Earl of *Newcastle* having two Armies of Rebels behind him, and another before him, was forced to retreat to *York*, which those three Armies joining presently besieged. And these are all the considerable Military Actions in the year 1643.

In the same year the Parliament caused to be made a new great Seal, the Lord Keeper had carried the former Seal to *Oxford*: Hereupon the King sent a Messenger to the Judges at *Westminster*, to forbid them to make use of it; this Messenger was taken, and condemned at a Council of War and Hang'd for a spie?

B. Is that the Law of War?

A. I know not: But, it ſeems, when a Soldier comes into the Enemies Quarters, without addreſs, or notice given to the chief Commander, that it is preſum'd he comes as a Spie.

The ſame year when certain Gentlemen at *London* received a Commiſſion of Array from the King to Levy men for His Service in that City, being diſcover'd they were Condemn'd, and ſome of them Executed. This Caſe is not unlike the former.

B. Was not the making of a new great Seal a ſufficient proof that the War was raiſed, not to remove evil Councillors from the King, but to remove the King Himſelf from the Government? what hope then could there be had in Meſſages and Treaties?

A. The entrance of the *Scots* was a thing unexpected to the King, who was made to believe by continual Letters from his Commiſſioners in *Scotland*, and Duke *Hamilton*, that the *Scotch* never intended any invaſion The Duke being then at *Oxford*, the King (aſſur'd that the *Scotch* were now entered) ſent him priſoner to *Pendennis* Caſtle in *Cornwal*.

In the beginning of this year 1644. the Earl of *Newcaſtle* being (as I told you) beſieged by the joint Forces of the Scots, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and Sir *Thoas Fairfax*, the King ſent Prince *Rupert* to relieve the Town, and as ſoon as he could, to give the Enemy Battel; Prince *Rupert* paſſing through *Lancaſhire*, and by the

the way having ſtorm'd the ſeditious Town of *Bolton*; and taken in *Stockford* and *Leverpole*, came to *York*, *July* 1. and relieved it, the Enemy being riſen thence, to a place called *Marſton-moor*, about four miles off, and there was fought that unfortunate Battel, that loſt the King, in a manner all the North; Prince *Rupert* return'd by the way he came, and the Earl of *Newcaſtle* to *York*, and thence with ſome of His Officers over the Sea to *Hamburgh*.

The Honour of this Victory was attributed chiefly to *Oliver Cromwel* (the Earl of *Mancheſter's* Lieutenant General) the *Parliamentarians* return'd from the Field, to the Siege of *York*, which, not long after, upon honourable Articles was ſurrendred; not that they were favoured, but becauſe the Parliament employed not much time, nor many men in the Siege.

B. This was a great and ſudden abatement of the King's Proſperity.

A. It was ſo, but amends was made Him for it within five or ſix weeks after; for Sir *William Waller* (after the loſs of his Army at *Roundway-down*) had another raiſed for him by the City of *London*, who for the payment thereof, impos'd a weekly Tax of the value of one Meals meat upon every Citizen. This Army, with that of the Earl of *Eſſex*, intended to beſiege *Oxford*, which the King underſtanding, ſent the Queen into the Weſt, and marched Himſelf towards *Worceſter*,

Worceſter. This made them to divide again, and the Earl to go into the Weſt, and *Waller* to purſue the King. By this means it ſo fell out, that both their Armies were defeated; for the King turn'd upon *Waller*, routed him at *Copredy-Bridge*, took his Train of Artillery, and many Officers, and then preſently followed the Earl of *Eſſex* into *Cornwal*, where he had him at ſuch advantage, that the Earl himſelf was fain to eſcape in a ſmall Boat to *Plymouth*; his Horſe broke through the King's Quarters by night, but the Infantry were all forc'd to lay down their Arms, and upon Conditions never more to bear Arms againſt the King, were permitted to depart.

In *October* following, was fought a ſecond and ſharp Battel at *Newbury*; for this Infantry making no conſcience of the Conditions made with the King, being now come towards *London*, as far as *Baſing-ſtoke*, had Arms put again into their hands; to whom ſome of the Train'd Bands being added, the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſuddenly ſo great an Army, that he attempted the King again at *Newbury*, and certainly had the better of the day, but the night parting them, had not a compleate Victory. And it was obſerv'd here, That no part of the Earls Army fought ſo keenly, as they who had laid down their Arms in *Cornwal*.

Theſe were the moſt important Fights in the year 1644. and the King was yet (as both himſelf

ſelf and others thought) in as good a condition as the Parliament, which deſpair'd of Victory by the Commanders then us'd, therefore they voted a new modelling of the Army, ſuſpecting the Earl of *Eſſex*, though I think wrongfully, to be too much a Royaliſt, for not having done ſo much as they look'd for in this ſecond Battle at *Newbury*.

The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Mancheſter* perceiving what they went about, voluntarily laid down their Commiſſions; and the Houſe of Commons made an Ordinance, *That no Member of either Houſe, ſhould enjoy any Office or Command Military or Civil.*

With which obliqueBlow they ſhook off thoſe that had hitherto ſerv'd them too well, and yet out of this Ordinance they excepted *Oliver Cromwel*, in whoſe Conduct and Valor they had very great confidence, (which they would not have done, if they had known him as well then, as they did afterwards) and made him Lieutenant General.

In the Commiſſion to the Earl of *Eſſex*, there was a Clauſe for Preſervation of His Majeſties Perſon, which in this new Commiſſion was left out, though the Parliament (as well as the General) were as yet *Presbyterians.*

B. It ſeems the *Presbyterians* alſo (in order to their Ends) would fain have had the King murdered

A. For

A. For my part, I doubt it not. For a Rightful King living, an Uſurping Power can never be ſufficiently ſecur'd. In this ſame year the Parliament put to death Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, for tampering with the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, about the Rendition of *Hull*. And Sir *Alexander Carew*, for endeavouring to deliver up *Plymouth*, where he was Governor for the Parliament. And the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for nothing but to pleaſe the *Scots*. For the general Article of going about to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land, was no Accuſation, but only foul words.

They then alſo voted down the *Book of Common-Prayer*, and ordered the Uſe of a *Directory*, which had been newly compos'd by an Aſſembly of *Presbyterian* Miniſters.

They were alſo then with much ado prevail'd with for a Treaty with the King at *Uxbridge*, where they remitted nothing of their former demands.

The King had alſo at this time a Parliament at *Oxford*, conſiſting of ſuch diſcontented Members as had left the Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, but few of them had changed their old Principles, and therefore that Parliament was not much worth. Nay rather, becauſe they endeavour'd nothing but Meſſages and Treaties; that is to ſay, defeating of Soldiers hope of benefit by the War, they were thought by moſt Men to do the King more hurt than good.

The year 1645. was to the King very unfortunate,

tunate, for by the loſs of one great Battel, He loſt all He had formerly gotten, and at length His life.

The new-model'd Army, after conſultation whether they ſhould lay Siege to *Oxford*, or march Weſtward to the relief of *Taunton* (then beſieged by the Lord *Goring*, and defended by *Blake*, famous afterward for his Actions at Sea) reſolv'd for *Taunton*, leaving *Cromwel* to attend the motions of the King, though not ſtrong enough to hinder Him. The King upon this advantage drew his Forces and Artillery out of *Oxford*. This made the Parliament to call back their General *Fairfax*, and order him to beſiege *Oxford*. The King in the mean time reliev'd *Cheſter*, which was beſieged by Sir *Will. Brereton*, and coming back, took *Leiceſter* by force, a place of great importance, and well provided of Artillery and Proviſion. Upon this ſucceſs it was generally thought, that the King's Party was the ſtronger. The King himſelf thought ſo, and the Parliament, in a manner, confeſt the ſame, by commanding *Fairfax* to riſe from the Siege, and endeavour to give the King Battel; for the Succeſſes of the King, and the treacherous diviſions growing now among themſelves, had driven them to relie upon the fortune of one day, in which at *Naſeby* the King's Army was utterly overthrown, and no hope left Him to raiſe another; therefore after the Battel he went up and down, doing the Parliament here and there ſome ſhrewd turns, but never much increaſing His number.

Fairfax

Fairfax in the mean time first recovered *Leicester*, and then marching into the West, subdued it all, except only a few places, forcing, with much ado, my Lord *Hopton*, (upon honorable conditions) to disband his Army, and with the Prince of *Wales*, to pass over to *Scilly*, whence not long after they went to *Paris*.

In *April* 1646. General *Fairfax* began to march back to *Oxford*, in the mean time *Rainsburrough*, who besieged *Woodstock*, had it surrender'd. The King therefore, who was now also return'd to *Oxford*, from whence *Woodstock* is but six miles, not doubting but that He should there by *Fairfax* be besieg'd, and having no Army to relieve Him, resolv'd to get away disguised to the *Scotch* Army about *Newark*, and thither he came the 4th of *May*; and the *Scotch* Army being upon remove homewards, carried Him with them to *Newcastle*, whither he came *May* 13.

B. Why did the King trust himself with the *Scots*? They were the first that Rebell'd. They were *Presbyterians* i. e. cruel. Besides, they were indigent, and consequently might be suspected would sell him to his Enemies for money; And lastly, they were too weak to defend Him, or keep him Him in their Country.

A. What could He have done better? For He had in the Winter before sent to the Parliament, to get a pass for the Duke of *Richmond* and others, to bring them Propositions of Peace, it was denied; He sent again, it was denied again.

Then

Then He desir'd He might come to them in Person; this also was denied. He sent again and again to the same purpose; but instead of granting it, they made an Ordinance, *That the Commanders of the Militia of* London, *in case the King should attempt to come within the Line of Communication, should raise what Force they thought fit to suppress Tumults, to apprehend such as came with Him; and to secure* (i. e. to imprison) *His Person from danger.*

If the King had adventur'd to come, and had been imprison'd, what would the Parliament have done with Him? They had dethron'd Him by their Votes, and therefore could have no security while He liv'd, though in Prison; it may be they would not have put Him to death by a High Court of Justice publickly, but secretly, some other way.

B. He should have attempted to get beyond Sea.

A. That had been from *Oxford* very difficult. Besides, it was generally believ'd, that the *Scotch* Army had promis'd Him, that not only His Majesty, but also His Friends that should come with Him, should be in their Army safe, not only for their Persons, but also for their Honours and Consciences. 'Tis a pretty Trick, when the Army, and the particular Soldiers of that Army are different things, to make the Soldiers promise what the Army means not to perform.

July 11. the Parliament sent their Propositions to the King at *Newcastle*, which Propositions they

they pretended to be the onely way to a ſetled and well-grounded Peace. They were brought by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Hyppeſley*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Robinſon*, whom the King asked, If they had power to Treat? And when they ſaid No, why they might not as well have been ſent by a Trumpeter? The Propoſitions were the ſame dethroning ones which they uſed to ſend, and therefore the King would not aſſent to them. Nor did the *Scots* ſwallow them at firſt, but made ſome Exceptions againſt them; only it ſeems, to make the Parliament perceive they meant not to put the King into their hands *gratis*; and ſo at laſt the bargain was made between them, and upon payment of 200000 l. the King was put into the hands of the Commiſſioners, which the *Engliſh* Parliament ſent down to receive Him.

B. What a vile Complexion hath this Action, compounded of feigned Religion, and very Covetouſneſs, Cowardize, Perjury, and Treachery?

A. Now the War that ſeemed ſo juſt, by many unſeemly things is ended, you will ſee almoſt nothing in theſe Rebels, but Baſeneſs and Falſeneſs, beſides their Folly.

By this time the Parliament had taken in all the reſt of the King's Gariſons, whereof the laſt was *Pendennis* Caſtle, whither Duke *Hamilton* had been ſent Priſoner by the King.

B. What was done during this time in *Ireland* and *Scotland*?

A. In

A. In *Ireland* there had been a Peace made, by Order from His Majesty, for a time, which by divisions by the *Irish* was ill kept. The Popish Party (the Pope's Nuncio being then there) took this to be the time for delivering themselves from their subjection to the *English*; besides, the time of the Peace was now expir'd.

B. How were they subject to the *English*, more than the *English* to the *Irish*? They were subject to the King of *England*, but so also were the *English* to the King of *Ireland*.

A. The distinction is somewhat too subtle for common understanding. In *Scotland* the Marques of *Montross*, for the King with a very few Men had miraculously with Victories over-run all *Scotland*, where many of his Forces (out of too much security) were permitted to be absent for a while, of which the Enemy having intelligence, suddenly came upon them, and forced them to flie back into the High-lands to recruit; where he began to recover strength, when the King commanded him (being then in the hands of the *Scots* at *Newcastle*) to disband, and he departed from *Scotland* by Sea.

In the end of the same year 1646. the Parliament caused the King's great Seal to be broken. Also the King was brought to *Holmeby*, and there kept by the Parliaments Commissioners. and here was an end of the War as to *England* and *Scotland*, but not to *Ireland*. About this time also died the Earl of *Essex*, whom the Parliament had discarded.

B. Now

B. Now that there was Peace in *England*, and the King in Priſon, in whom was the Sovereign Power?

A. The Right was certainly in the King, but the exerciſe was yet in no body, but contended for, as in a Game at Cards, without fighting all the years 1647. and 1648. between the Parliament and *Oliver Cromwel*, Lieutenant General to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. You muſt know that when King *Henry* VIII. aboliſhed the Pope's Authority here, and took upon him to be the Head of the Church, the Biſhops as they could not reſiſt him, ſo neither were they diſcontented with it. For whereas the Pope before allowed not the Biſhops to claim Juriſdiction in their Dioceſſes, *Jure Divino*, that is, of Right immediately from God, but by the Gift and Authority of the Pope; now that the Pope was outed, they made no doubt but the Divine Right was in themſelves.

After this the City of *Geneva*, and divers other places beyond Sea, having revolted from the *Papacy*, ſet up *Presbyteries* for the Government of their ſeveral Churches; and divers *Engliſh* Scholars that went beyond Sea, during the Perſecution of Queen *Mary*, were much taken with this Government; and at their return in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and ever ſince, have endeavor'd, to the great trouble of the Church and Nation, to ſet up that Government here, wherein they might domineer, and applaud their own Wit and Learning. And theſe took upon them

them not only a Divine Right, but alſo a Divine Inſpiration; and having been connived at, and countenanced ſometimes in their frequent Preaching, they introduced many ſtrange and many pernicious Doctrines, out-doing the Reformation (as they pretended both of *Luther* and *Calvin*) receding from the former Divinity, or Church-Philoſophy, (for Religion is another thing) as much as *Luther* and *Calvin* had receded from the Pope, and diſtracted their Auditors into a great number of Sects, as *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Independents*, *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, *Quakers*, and divers others, all commonly called by the name of *Fanaticks*, inſomuch as there was no ſo dangerous an Enemy to the *Presbyterians*, as this Brood of their own hatching.

Theſe were *Cromwel*'s beſt Cards, whereof he had a very great number in the Army, and ſome in the houſe, whereof he himſelf was thought one, though he were nothing certain, but applying himſelf always to the Faction that was ſtrongeſt, was of a colour like it. There was in the Army a great number (if not the *major* part) that aimed only at Rapine, and ſharing the Lands and Goods of their Enemies; and theſe alſo upon the opinion they had of *Cromwel*'s Valor and Conduct, thought they could not any way better arrive at their Ends, than by adhering to him.

Laſtly, In the Parliament it ſelf, though not the *major* part, yet a conſiderable number were *Fanaticks*, enough to put in doubts, and cauſe de-

lay

lay in the Reſolutions of the Houſe; and ſometimes alſo by advantages of a thin Houſe, to carry a Vote in favour of *Cromwel*, as they did upon the 26th of *July*; for whereas on the 4th of *May* precedent, the Parliament had Voted, *That the Militia of* London *ſhould be in the hands of a Committee of Citizens, whereof the Lord Mayor, for the time being, ſhould be one.*

Shortly after the *Independents* chancing to be the *major*, made an Ordinance, whereby it was put into hands more favourable to the Army. The beſt Cards the Parliament had, were the City of *London*, and the Perſon of the King. The General, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, was right *Presbyterian*, but in the hands of the Army, and the Army in the hands of *Cromwel*, but which Party ſhould prevail, depended on playing of the Game. *Cromwel* proteſted ſtill Obedience and Fidelity to the Parliament, but meaning nothing leſs, bethought him, and reſolv'd on a way to excuſe himſelf of all that he ſhould do to the contrary upon the Army; therefore he and his Son-in-law, Commiſſary General *Ireton*, as good at contriving as himſelf, and at ſpeaking and writing better, contrive how to mutiny the Army againſt the Parliament. To this end they ſpread a whiſper through the Army, that the Parliament, now they had the King, intended to disband them, to cheat them of their Arrears, and to ſend them into *Ireland*, to be deſtroy'd by the *Iriſh*.

The Army being herewith inrag'd, were taught

by *Ireton* to erect a Council among themselves of two Soldiers out of every Troop, and every Company to consult for the good of the Army, and to assist at the Council of War, and to advise for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. These were called Adjutators; so that whatsoever *Cromwell* would have to be done, he needed nothing to make them to do it, but secretly to put it into the head of these Adjutators; the effect of the first Consultation, was to take the King from *Holmeby*, and to bring him to the Army.

The General hereupon, by Letters to the Parliament, excuses himself and *Cromwel*, and the Body of the Army, as ignorant of the Fact; and that the King came away willingly with those Soldiers that brought him, assuring them withall, *That the whole Army intended nothing but Peace, nor opposed* Presbytery, *nor affected* Independency, *nor did hold any licentious freedom in Religion.*

B. 'Tis strange that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* could be so abused by *Cromwel*, as to believe this which he himself here writes.

A. I cannot believe that Cornet *Joyce* could go out of the *Army* with 1000 Soldiers to fetch the King, and neither the General, nor the Lieutenant-General, nor the body of the *Army* take notice of it; and that the King went willingly, appears to be false, by a Message sent on purpose from His Majesty to the Parliament.

B. Here

B. Here is Perfidy upon Perfidy; first the Perfidy of the Parliament against the King, and then the Perfidy of the *Army* against the Parliament.

A. This was the first Trick *Cromwel* play'd, whereby he thought himself to have gotten so great an advantage, that he said openly, *That he had the Parliament in his Pocket,* (as indeed he had) *and the City too.* For upon the news of it, they were both the one and the other in very great disorder; and the more, because there came with it a Rumor, that the *Army* was marching up to *London.*

The King in the mean time, till his Residence was setled at *Hampton* Court, was carried from place to place, not without some ostentation; but with much more Liberty, and with more respect shewn Him by far, than when He was in the hands of the Parliaments Commissioners; for His own Chaplains were allow'd Him, and His Children, and some friends permitted to see Him: Besides, that He was much Complimented by *Cromwel,* who promised Him in a serious and seeming passionate manner, to restore Him to His Right against the Parliament.

B. How was he sure he could do that?

A. He was not sure, but he was resolv'd to march up to the City and Parliament, to set up the King again, and be the second Man; unless in the attempt he found better hopes than yet he had, to make himself the first Man, by dispossessing the King.

B. What assistance against the Parliament and the City, could *Cromwel* expect from the King?

A. By declaring directly for Him, he might have had all the King's Party, which were many more now since His misfortune, than ever they were before; for in the Parliament it self, there were many that had discover'd the hypocrisie and private aims of their Fellows. Many were converted to their Duty, by their own natural Reason; and their Compassion for the King's Sufferings, had begot generally an Indignation against the Parliament; so that if they had been by the protection of the present Army brought together, and embodied, *Cromwel* might have done what he pleas'd in the first place for the King, and in the second for himself; but it seems he meant first to try what he could do without the King, and if that prov'd enough to rid his hands of him.

B. What did the Parliament and City do, to oppose the Army?

A. First the Parliament sent to the General, to have the King re-deliver'd to their Commissioners.

Instead of an answer to this, the Army sent Articles to the Parliament, and with them a Charge against Eleven of their Members, all of them active *Presbyterians*; of which Articles these are some:

I. *That*

I. *That the House may be purged of those, who, by the Self-denying Ordinance, ought not to be there.*

II. *That such as abused, and endeavoured the ruin of the Kingdom might be disabled, to do the like hereafter.*

III. *That a day might be appointed to determine this Parliament.*

IV. *That they would make an Accompt to the Kingdom of the vast Sums of Money they had received.*

V. *That the Eleven Members might presently be suspended sitting in the House.*

These were the Articles that put them to their Trumps, and they answered none of them, but that of the Suspension of the Eleven Members, which they said they could not do by Law, till the particulars of the Charge were produced.

But this was soon answer'd, with their own Proceedings against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*.

The Parliament being thus somewhat aw'd, and the King made somewhat confident, he undertakes the City, requiring the Parliament to put the Militia into other hands.

B. What other hands? I do not well underſtand you.

A. I told you that the Militia of *London* was on the 4th of *May*, put into the hands of the Lord Mayor, and other Citizens, and ſoon after put into the hands of other Men more favourable unto the Army. And now I am to tell you, that on *July* 26. the violence of certain Apprentices, and disbanded Soldiers, forced the Parliament to reſettle it as it was in the Citizens; and hereupon the two Speakers, and divers of the Members, ran away to the Army where they were invited, and contented to ſit and vote in the Council of War, in the nature of a Parliament; and out of theſe Citizens hands they would have the Militia taken away, and put again into thoſe hands out of which it was taken the 26th of *July*.

B. What ſaid the City to this?

A. The *Londoners* mann'd their works, *viz.* the Line of Communication, rais'd an Army of valiant Men within the Line, choſe good Officers, all being deſirous to go out and fight, whenſoever the City ſhould give them Order; and in that poſture ſtood, expecting the Enemy. The Soldiers in the mean time enter into an Engagement to live and dye with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the Parliament, and the Army.

B. That's very fine; they imitate that which the Parliament did when they firſt took up Arms againſt the King, ſtiling themſelves, *The King and Parliament*; maintaining, *That the King was alwaies*

wayes vertually in His Parliament: So the *Army* now making War againſt the Parliament, called themſelves, the Parliament and the Army; but they might with more reaſon ſay, That the Parlament (ſince it was in *Cromwel's* Pocket) was virtually in the *Army*.

A. withall they ſend out a Declaration of the grounds of their March towards *London*, wherein they take upon them to be Judges of the *Parliament*, and of who are fit to be truſted with the buſineſs of the Kingdom, giving them the name, not of the Parliament, but of the Gentlemen at *Wiſtminſter*; for ſince the violence they were under *July* 26. the Army denied them to be a lawful Parliament.

At the ſame time they ſent a Letter to the Mayor and *Aldermen* of *London*, reproaching them with thoſe late Tumults, telling them, *They were Enemies to the Peace, Treacherous to the Parliament, Unable to defend either the Parliament or themſelves, and demanded to have the City delivered into their hands, to which purpoſe* (they ſaid) *they were now coming to them.*

The General alſo ſent out his warrants to the Counties adjacent, ſummoning their Train'd Soldiers to join with them.

B. Were the Traind Soldiers part of the Generals *Army*?

A. No, nor at all in Pay nor could be, without an order of *Parliament*. But what might not an *Army* do, that had maſter'd all the laws of the Land?

The

The Army being come to *Hounſloe-heath*, diſtant from *London* but 10 Miles, the Court of Aldermen was called, to conſider what to do; the Captains and Soldiers of the City were willing, and well provided to go forth, and give them Battel; but a Treacherous Officer, that had charge of a work on *Southwark* ſide, had let in within the Line a ſmall Party of the Enemies, who marched as far as to the Gate of *London-Bridge*, and then the Court of Aldermen (their hearts failing them) ſubmitted on theſe Conditions:

To relinquiſh their Militia.

To deſert the Eleven Members.

To deliver up the Forts and Line of Communication, together with the Tower of London, *and all Magazines and Arms therein to the Army.*

To disband their Forces, and turn out all the Reformadoes, i. e. *all* Eſſex's *old Soldiers.*

To draw off their Guards from the Parliament.

All which was done, and the Army marched triumphantly through the principal Streets of the City.

B. 'Tis ſtrange that the Mayor and Aldermen having ſuch an Army, ſhould ſo quickly yield. Might they not have reſiſted the Party of the Enemies at the Bridge, with a Party of their own, and the reſt of the Enemies, with the reſt of their own?

A. I cannot judge of that: but to me it would have been ſtrange if they had done otherwiſe; for I conſider the moſt part of rich Subjects, that have made themſelves ſo by Craft and Trade, as men that never look upon any thing but their preſent profit, and who to every thing not lying in that way are in a manner blind, being amaz'd at the very thought of Plundering: if they had underſtood what vertue there is to preſerve their Wealth in obedience to their lawful Soveraign, they would never have ſided with the Parliament; and ſo we had no need of arming: The Mayor and Aldermen therefore aſſur'd by this ſubmiſſion to ſave their Goods, and not ſure of the ſame by reſiſting, ſeem to me to have taken the wiſeſt courſe: Nor was the Parliament leſs tame than the City; for preſently *Auguſt* 6. the General brought the Fugitive Speaker and members to the Houſe with a ſtrong Guard of Souldiers and re-placed the Speakers in their Chairs; and for this they gave the Generall thanks, not only therein the Houſe, but appointed alſo a day for a holy Thankſgiving; and not long after made him *Generaliſſimo* of all the Forces of *England*, and Conſtable of the *Tower*: but in effect all this was the advancement of *Cromwell*, for he was the Uſufructuary, though the property were in Sir *Tho. Fairfax*; for the *Independents* immediately caſt down the whole Line of Communication, divide the Militia of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *and Southwark*, which we before united, diſplaced ſuch Gover-

nours of Towns and Forts as were not for their turn, though placed there by Ordinance of Parliament, instead of whom they put in men of their own Party: They also made the Parliament to declare null all that had passed in the Houses, from *July* the 26th, to *Aug.* the 6th, and clapt in Prison some of the Lords, and some of the most Eminent Citizens, whereof the Lord Mayor was one.

B. Cromwel had power enough now to restore the King; why did he not?

A. His main end was to set himself in his place; the restoring of the King was but a reserve against the Parliament, which being in his Pocket, he had no more need of the King, who was now an impediment to him: To keep him in the *Army* was a trouble, to let him fall into the hands of the *Presbyterians* had been a stop to his hopes, to murder him privately (besides the horrour of the act) now whilst he was no more than Lieutenant General, would have made him odious, without fathering his design; there was nothing better for his purpose, than to let him escape from *Hampton Court* (where he was too near the Parliament) whither he pleased beyond Sea: For though *Cromwel* had a great Party in the Parliament-Houses, whilst they saw not his Ambition to be their Master, yet they would have been his Enemies as soon as that had appear'd. To make the King attempt an escape, some of those that had him in Custody, by *Cromwel's* direction told him, that the Adjutators meant

meant to murder him; and withal, cauſed a rumour of the ſame to be generally ſpread, to the end it might that way alſo come to the Kings Ear, as it did.

The King therefore in a dark and rainy night (his Guards being retir'd, as it was thought on purpoſe) left *Hampton-Court*, and went to the Sea-ſide, about *Southampton*, where a Veſſel had been beſpoken to tranſport him, but fail'd; ſo that the King was forced to truſt himſelf with Colonel *Hammond*, then Goverhour of the Iſle of *Wight*, expecting perhaps ſome kindneſs from him for Doctor *Hammonds* ſake, Brother to the Colonel, and his Majeſties much favour'd Chaplain; but it proved otherwiſe, for the Colonel ſent to his Maſters of the Parliament, to receive their Orders concerning him. This going into the Iſle of *Wight* was not likely to be any part of *Cromwel's* deſign, who neither knew whither, nor which way he would go, nor had *Hammond* known any more than other men, if the Ship had come to the appointed place in due time.

B. If the King had eſcaped into *France*, might not the *French* have aſſiſted him with Forces to recover his Kingdom, and ſo fruſtrated the deſigns, both of *Comwel*, and all other the Kings Enemies?

A. Yes much, juſt as they aſſiſted his Son, our preſent moſt gracious Soveraign, who two years before fled thither out of *Cornwal*.

B. 'Tis methinks no great policy in Neighbouring

bouring Princes, to favour, ſo often as they do, one anothers Rebels, eſpecially when they rebel againſt Monarchy it ſelf; they ſhould rather firſt make a League againſt Rebellion, and afterwards (if there be no remedy) fight one againſt another: Nor will that ſerve the turn among Chriſtian Soveraigns, till Preaching be better lookt to, whereby the interpretation of a Verſe in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, or *Latine* Bible, is oftentimes the cauſe of Civil War, and the depoſing and aſſaſſinating of Gods Anointed, and yet converſe with thoſe Divinity Diſputers as long as you will, you will hardly find one in a hundred diſcreet enough to be imployed in any great Affairs, either of War or Peace: It is not the Right of the Soveraign, though granted to him by every mans conſent expreſly, that can inable a Subject to do his Office, it is the obedience of the Subject; and then by and by to cry out (as ſome Miniſters did in the Pulpit) *to your Tents O Iſrael.* Common people know nothing of right or wrong by their own Meditation; they muſt therefore be taught the grounds of their Duty, and the reaſons why Calamities ever follow Diſobedience to their lawful Soveraigns: But to the contrary, our Rebels were publickly taught Rebellion in the Pulpits, and that there was no ſin, but the doing of what the Preachers forbad, or the omitting of what they advis'd: But now the King was the Parliaments Priſoner, why did not the *Presbyterians* advance their own Intereſt, by reſtoring him?

A. The

A. The Parliament, in which there were more *Presbyterians* yet than *Independents*, might have gotten what they would of the King, during his life, if they had not by an unconſcionable and ſottiſh Ambition obſtructed the way to their Ends: They ſent him four propoſitions to be ſigned, and paſt by him as Acts of Parliament, telling him, when theſe were granted, they would ſend Commiſſioners to treat with him of any other Articles.

Firſt, The Propoſitions are theſe:

That the Parliament ſhould have the Militia, and power of levying Money to maintain it for twenty years; and after that term, the exerciſe thereof to return to the King, in caſe the Parliament think the ſafety of the Kingdom concern'd in it.

B. This firſt Article takes from the King the Militia, and conſequently the whole Soveraignty for ever.

A. The ſecond was, That the King ſhould juſtifie the proceedings of the Parliament againſt himſelf, and declare void all Oaths and Declarations made by him againſt the Parliament.

B. This was to make him guilty of the War, and of all the Blood ſpilt therein.

A. The third was, To take away all Titles of Honour conferred by the King, ſince the Great Seal was carried to him in *May* 1642.

The fourth was, That the Parliament ſhould Adjourn themſelves, when, and to what place, and for what time they pleas'd.

Theſe

These Propositions the King refus'd to grant, as he had reason, but sent others of his own, not much less advantagious to the *Parliament*, and desir'd a personal Treaty with the *Parliament*, for the setling of the *Peace* of the Kingdom; but the *Parliament* denying them to be sufficient for that purpose, voted, that there should be no more *Addresses* made to him, nor Messages receiv'd from him, but they would settle the Kingdom without him: *And* this they voted, partly upon the Speeches and Menaces of the *Army* Faction then present in the House of Commons, whereof one advised these three Points.

1. To secure the King in some In-land Castle with Guards.

2. To draw up *Articles* of Impeachment against him.

3. To lay him by, and settle the Kingdom without him.

Another said, that his denying the four Bills, was the denying Protection to his Subjects; and that therefore they might deny him Subjection; and added, that till the Parliament forsook the *Army*, the *Army* would never forsake the Parliament: This was Threatning. Last of all, *Cromwel* himself told them, it was now expected that the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom, and not any longer let the people expect their safety from a man whose heart God had hardned; nor let those that had so well defended the Parlitment, be left afterward

ward to the rage of an irreconcileable Enemy, leſt they ſeek their ſafety ſome other way. This again was threatning; as alſo laying his hand upon his Sword when he ſpake it.

And hereupon the Vote of Non-Addreſſes was made an Ordinance, which the Houſe would afterwards have recalled, but were forc'd by *Cromwel* to keep their word.

The *Scotch* were displeas'd with it, partly becauſe their Brethren the *Presbyterians* had loſt a great deal of their Power in *England*, and partly alſo, becauſe they had ſold the King into their hands. The King now publiſhed a paſſionate Complaint to his People of this hard dealing with him, which made them pity him, but not yet riſe in his behalf.

B. Was not this, think you, the true time for *Cromwel* to take poſſeſſion?

A. By no means, there were yet many Obſtacles to be removed; he was not General of the Army; the Army was ſtill for a Parliament? the City of *London* diſcontented about their Militia; the *Scots* expected with an Army to reſcue the King; his Adjutators were Levellers and againſt Monarchy, who though they had helped him to bring under the Parliament, yet like Dogs that are eaſily taught to fetch, and not eaſily taught to render, would not make him King; ſo that *Cromwel* had theſe buſineſſes following to overcome.

1. To be *Generaliſſimo*.
2. To remove the King.

3. To

3. To ſuppreſs all Inſurrections.

4. To oppoſe the *Scots*: And

Laſtly, To diſſolve the preſent Parliament: Mighty buſineſſes, which he could never promiſe himſelf to overcome; therefore I cannot believe he then thought to be King, but only by ſerving the ſtrongeſt Party (which was always his main policy) to proceed as far as Fortune, and that would carry him.

B. The Parliament were certainly no leſs fooliſh than wicked, in deſerting thus the King, before they had the Army at a better Command than they had.

A. In the beginning of 1648. the Parliament gave Commiſſion to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* (then made Chancellour of *Oxford*, together with ſome of the Doctors there, as good Divines as he) to purge the Univerſity; by vertue whereof they turn'd out all ſuch as were not of their Faction, and all ſuch as had approved the uſe of the Common-Prayer Book; as alſo divers ſcandalous Miniſters and Scholars (that is, ſuch as cuſtomarily and without need took the Name of God in their mouths, or uſed to ſpeak wantonly, or uſe the company of lewd Women) and for this laſt I cannot but commend them.

B. So ſhall not I; for it is juſt ſuch another piece of Piety, as to turn Men out of an Hoſpital becauſe they are lame: Where can a man probably learn Godlineſs, and how to correct his Vices better, than in the Univerſities erected for that purpoſe.

A. It

A. It may be the Parliament thought otherwise; for I have often heard the Complaint of Parents, that their Children were debauched there to Drunkenneſs, Wantonneſs, Gaming, and other Vices, conſequent to theſe: Nor is it a wonder among ſo many Youths, if they did not corrupt one another in deſpite of their Tutors, who oftentimes were little Elder than themſelves: And therefore (I think) the Parliament did not much reverence the Inſtitution of Univerſities, as to the bringing up of young men to vertue, though many of them learn'd there to Preach, and became thereby capable of Preferment and Maintenance; and ſome others were ſent thither by their Parents, to ſave themſelves the trouble of governing them at home, during that time wherein Chidren are leaſt governable. Nor do I think the Parliament car'd more for the Clergy than other men did: But certainly an Univerſity is an excellent ſervant to the Clergy, and the Clergy if it be not careſully lookt to, (by their Diſſentious Doctrines, and by the advantage to Publiſh their Diſſentions) is no extraordinary means to divide a Kingdom into Faction.

B. But ſeeing there is no place iu this part of the World, where Philoſophy and other Humane Sciences are not highly valued, where can they be learned better, than in Univerſities?

A. what other Sciences? Do not Divines comprehend all Civil and Moral *P*hiloſophy within their Divinity? And as for natural Philoſophy:

loſophy, is it not remov'd from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to *Greſham-College* in *London*, and to be learn'd out of their *Gazets*? But we are gone from our Subject.

B. No, we are indeed gone from the great buſineſs of the Kingdom, to which, if you pleaſe let us return.

A. The firſt Inſurrection, or rather Tumult, was of the Apprentices on the ninth of *April*; but this was not upon the Kings account, but aroſe from a cuſtomary aſſembly of them for recreation in *Moor-fields*, whence ſome Zealous Officers of the Train'd-Bands would needs drive them away by force, but were themſelves routed with ſtones, and had their Enſign taken away by the Apprentices, which they carried about in the Streets, and frighted the Lord Mayor into his Houſe where they took a Gun, called a *Drake*, and then they ſet Guards at ſome of the Gates, and all the reſt of the day Childiſhly ſwagger'd up and down: but the next day the General himſelf marching into the City, quickly diſperſed them. This was but a ſmall buſineſs, but enough to let them ſee that the Parliament was ill belov'd of the people. Next, the *Welch* took Arms againſt them; there were three Colonels in *Wales*, *Langhorn Poyor*. and *Powel*, who had formerly done the Parliament good ſervices, but now were commanded to disband, which they refus'd to do; and the better to ſtrengthen themſelves, declar'd for the King, and were about eight thouſand.

About

About the ſame time in *Wales* alſo was another Inſurrection, headed by Sir *Nicholas Keymiſh*, and another under Sir *John Owen*; ſo that now all *Wales* was in Rebellion againſt the Parliament: And yet theſe were overcome in a months time by *Cromwel*, and his Officers, but not without ſtore of blood ſhed on both ſides.

B. I do not much pity the loſs of thoſe men, that impute to the King that which they do upon their own quarrel.

A. Preſently after this, ſome of the people of *Surrey* ſent a Petition to the Parliament for a Perſonal Treaty between the King and Parliament, but their Meſſengers were beaten home again by the Soldiers that quartered about *Weſtminſter*; and then the *Kentiſh* men having a like Petition to deliver, and ſeeing how it was like to be receiv'd, threw it away, and took up Arms; they had many gallant Officers, and for General, the Earl of *Norwich*, and increas'd daily by Apprentices, and old disbanded Souldiers, inſomuch as the Parliament was glad to reſtore to the City their Militia, and to keep Guards upon the *Thames* ſide; and then *Fairfax* marched towards the Enemy.

B. And then the *Londoners*, I think, might eaſily and ſuddenly have maſter'd, firſt the Parliament, and next *Fairfax* his eight thouſand, and laſtly *Cromwels* Army, or at leaſt have given the *Scotch* Army opportunity to march unfought to *London*.

A. 'Tis true, but the City was never good at ven-

venturing; nor were they, or the *Scots*, principled to have a King over them, but under them *Fairfax* marching with eight thouſand againſt the Royaliſts, routed a part of them at *Maidſtone*; another part were taking in of places in *Kent* farther off, and the Earl of *Norwich*, with the reſt, came to *Black-Heath*, and thence ſent to the City to get paſſage through it, to joyn with thoſe which were riſen in *Eſſex*, under Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*; which being denied, the greateſt part of his *Kentiſh* men deſerted him; with the reſt, not above five hundred, he croſſed the *Thames* unto the Iſle of *Dogs* and ſo to *Bow*, and thence to *Colcheſter*: *Fairfax* having notice of this, croſſed the *Thames* at *Graves-End*, and overtaking them, beſieg'd them in *Colcheſter*: The Town had no defence but a Bulwark, and yet held out, upon hope of the *Scotch* Army to relieve them, the ſpace of two Months.

Upon the news of the defeat of the *Scots*, they were forced to yield; the Earl of *Norwich* was ſent Priſoner to *London*, Sir *Charles Lucas* and St. *George Liſle*, two Loyal and Gallant Perſons, were ſhot to Death. There was alſo another little Inſurrection headed by the Earl of *Holland* about *Kingſton*, but quickly ſuppreſt, and he himſelf taken Priſoner.

B. How came the *Scots* to be ſo ſoon diſpatcht?

A. Meerly, as it is ſaid, for want of Conduct: The Army was led by Duke *Hamilton* who

was

was then ſet at liberty, when *Pendennis* Caſtle, where he was Priſoner, was taken by the Parliament: He entred *England* with Horſe and Foot 10000, to which came above 3000 Engliſh Royaliſts. Againſt theſe *Cromwel* marched out of *Wales* with Horſe and Foot 11000, and near to *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, in leſs then two hours, deſeated them; and the cauſe of it is ſaid to be that the *Scotch* Army was ſo ordered, as they could not all come to the Fight, nor relieve their Fellows: After the Defeat they had no way to fly but farther into *England*, ſo that in the Purſuit they were almoſt all taken, and loſt all that an Army could loſe, for the few that got home, did not all bring home their Swords, D. *Hamilton* was taken, and not long after ſent to *London* but *Cromwell* marched to *Edenburrough*, and there, by the help of the Faction which was contrary to *Hamilton's* he made ſure not to be hindred in his deſigns, the firſt whereof was to take away the Kings Life by the hand of the Parliament: whilſt theſe things paſſed in the North, the Parliament (*Cromwel* being away) came to it ſelf, and recalling their Vote of *Non-Addreſſes*, ſent to the King new propoſitions, ſomewhat; but not ſo much eaſier than the former, and upon the King's anſwer to them, they ſent Commiſſioners to treat with him at *Newport* in the Iſle of *wight*; where they ſo long dodged with him about Trifles, that *Cromwel* was come to *London* before they had done, to the Kings deſtruction, for the Army was now wholly at the Devotion

of

of *Cromwel*, who ſet the Adjutators on work to make a Remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons; wherein they require. 1. That the King be brought to Juſtice. 2. That the Prince, and Duke of *York*, be ſommon'd to appear at a day appointed, and proceeded with, according as they ſhould give ſatisfaction. 3. That the Parliament ſettle the future Government, and ſet a reaſonable period to their own ſitting, and make certain future Parliaments Annual, or Biennial. 4. That a competent number of the Kings chief Inſtruments be executed; and this to be done both by the Houſe of Commons, and by a general agreement of the people, teſtified by their Subſcriptions: Nor did they ſtay for an anſwer, but preſently ſet a Guard of Souldiers at the Parliament-Houſe Door, and other Souldiers in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſuffering none to go into the Houſe, but ſuch as would ſerve their turns; all others were frighted away, or made Priſoners, and ſome upon divers quarrels ſuſpended. About ninety of them, becauſe they had refus'd to Vote againſt the *Scots*; and others, becauſe they had voted againſt the Vote of Non-Addreſſes; and the reſt were a Houſe for *Cromwel*. The Phanaticks alſo in the City being countenanced by the Army, pack a new Common Council, whereof any forty was to be above the Mayor, and their firſt work was to frame a Petition for Juſtice againſt the King; which *Tichbourn* the Mayor (involving the City in the Regicide) deliver'd to the Parliament.

2 At

At the ſame time, with like violence they took the King from *Newport*, in the Iſle of *Wight*, to *Hurſt* Caſtle, till things were ready for his Tryal; the Parliament, in the mean time, to avoid Perjury, by an ordinance declar'd void the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance; and preſently after made another to bring the King to his Tryal.

B. This is a piece of Law that I underſtood not before, that when many men ſwear ſingly, they may when they are aſſembled (if they pleaſe) abſolve themſelves.

A. The Ordinance being drawn up, was brought into the Houſe, where after three ſeveral readings, it was voted, *That the Lords and Commons of* England *aſſembled in Parliament, do declare, that by the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, is is Treaſon in the King of* England *to levy War againſt the Parliament*: And this Vote was ſent up to the Lords, and they denying their conſent, the Commons in anger made another Vote, *That all members of Committees ſhould proceed and act in any Ordinance, whether the Lords concurr'd or no; and that the people, under God, are the Original of all juſt Power; and that the Houſe of Commons have the Supreme Power of the Nation; and that whatſoever the Houſe of Commons Enacted, is Law.* All this paſſed *nemine contradicente.*

B. Theſe propoſitions fight not only againſt a King of *England*, but againſt all the Kings of the World. It were good they thought on't; but yet I believe, that, under God, the Originall of all Laws was in the People.

A. But

A. But the People, for them and their Heirs, by consent and Oaths, have long ago put the Supreme Power of the Nation into the hands of their Kings, for them and their Heirs; and consequently into the hands of this King, their known and lawful Heir.

B. But does not the Parliament represent the People.

A. Yes, to some purposes; as to put up Petitions to the King when they have leave, and are griev'd but not to make a grievance of the Kings Power: Besides, the Parliament never represents the People, but when the King calls them: Is it to be imagin'd that he calls a Parliament to depose himself? Put the case every County and Burrough should have given for a Benevolence a sum of Money, and that every County meeting in their County Court, or elsewhere, and that every Burrough in their Town Hall, should have chosen certain men to carry their several sums respectively to the Parliament had not these men represented the whole Nation?

B. Yes no doubt.

A. Do you think the Parliament would have thought it reasonable to be called to account by this Representative?

B. No sure; and yet, I must confess, the Case is the same.

A. This Ordinance contained; First, a Summary of the Charge against the King; in substance this. *That not content with the Incroachments*

of

of his Predeceſſors upon the freedom of the people, he had deſign'd to ſet up a Tyrannical power; and to that end had rais'd and maintain'd in the Land, a Civil War againſt the Parliament, whereby the Country hath been miſerably waſted, the publick Treaſure exhauſted, thouſands of people murdered, and infinite other miſchiefs committed.

Secondly, A Conſtitution paſſed of a High Court of Juſtice; that is, of a certain number of Commiſſioners, of whom any twenty had power to try the King, and proceed to Sentence, according to the Merit of the Cauſe, and ſee it ſpeedily executed. The Commiſſioners met on Saturday, *January* 20. in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and the King was brought before them, ſitting in a Chair: He heard the Charge read, but denied to plead to it, either Guilty or Not Guilty, till he ſhould know by what lawful Authority he was brought thither. The Preſident told him, that the Parliament affirm'd their own Authority; and the King perſevered in his refuſal to plead; though many words paſſed between him and the Preſident, yet this is the ſum of all: On Monday, *January* 22. the Court met again, and the Solliciter moved, that if the King perſiſted in denying the Authority of the Court, the Charge might be taken *pro confeſſo*; but the King ſtill denied their Authority.

They met again, *January* 23. and then the Solliciter moved the Court for Judgment; whereupon the King was requir'd to give his Final Anſwer, which was again a denial of their Authority.

Laſtly, they met again, *January* 27. where the King then deſir'd to be heard before the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*; and promiſing after that to abide the Judgment of the Court: the Commiſſioners retired for half an hour to conſider of it; and then returning, cauſed the King again to be brought to the Bar, and told him, that what he propoſed, was but another denial of the Courts Juriſdiction; and that if he had no more to ſay, they would proceed to Judgment: Then the King anſwering, that he had no more to ſay, the Preſident began a long Speech, in juſtification of the Parliaments proceedings, producing the Examples of many Kings kill'd or depos'd by wicked Parliaments, Ancient and Modern, in *England*, *Scotland*, and other parts of the world: All which he endeavour'd to juſtifie from this onely Principle, That the People have the Supreme power, and the Parliament is the People. This Speech ended, the Sentence of Death was read, and the ſame upon Tueſday after, *Jan.* the 30. executed at the Gate of his own Palace of *White-hall*. He that can delight in reading how villanouſly he was uſed by the Souldiers, between the Sentence and Execution, may go to the Chronicle it ſelf, in which he ſhall ſee what courage, patience, wiſdome, and goodneſs was in this Prince, whom in their Charge the Members of that wicked Parliament ſtil'd Traytor, Tyrant, and Murderer.

The King being dead, the ſame day they made

made an Act of Parliament, *That whereas ſeveral pretences might be made to the Crown*, &c. *it is Enacted by this preſent Parliament, and Authority of the ſame, that no Perſon ſhall preſume to declare, proclaim, or publiſh, or any way promote* Charles Stuart, *Son of* Charles *late King of* England, *commonly called Prince of* Wales, *or any other perſon, to be King of* England *and* Ireland, *&c.*

B. Seeing the King was dead, and his Succeſſors barr'd, by what declared Authority was the Peace maintained?

A. They had in their anger againſt the Lords formerly declared the Supreme Power of the Nation to be in the Houſe of Commons; and now, on *February* the fifth, they Vote the Houſe of Lords to be uſeleſs, and dangerous. And thus the Kingdom was turned into a *Democracy*, or rather an *Oligarchy*; for preſently they made an Act, That none of thoſe Members who were ſecluded for oppoſing the Vote of Non-Addreſſes, ſhould ever be re-admitted: And theſe were commonly called the Secluded Members; and the reſt were by ſome ſtiled a Parliament, and by others a Rump.

I think you need not now have a Catalogue either of the Vices, or of the Crimes, or of the Follies of the greateſt part of them that compoſed the Long Parliament, than which greater cannot be in the World: What greater Vices than Irreligion, Hypocriſie, Avarice, and Cruelty, which have appeared ſo eminently in the actions of *Presbyterian* Members, and *Presbyterian*

Miniſters? What greater Crimes than Blaſphemy; and killing Gods Anointed, which was done by the hands of the *Independants*, but by the folly and firſt Treaſon of the *Presbyterians*, who betrayed and ſold him to his Murderers? Nor was it a little folly in the Lords, not to ſee that by the taking away of the Kings Power, they loſt withal their own Priviledges; or to think themſelves either for number or judgment any way a conſiderable aſſiſtance to the Houſe of Commons: And for thoſe men who had skill in the Laws, it was no great ſigne of underſtanding, not to perceive that the Laws of the Land were made by the King, to oblige his Subjects to Peace and Juſtice, and not to oblige himſelf that made them: Laſtly, and generally, all men are Fools which pull down any thing which does them good, before they have ſet up ſomething better in its place: He that would ſet up *Democracy* with an Army, ſhould have an Army to maintain it; but theſe men did it, when thoſe men had the Army that were ſolv'd to pull it down. To theſe follies, I might adde the follies of thoſe five men, which out of their reading of *Tully*, *Seneca*, and other *Antimonarchicks*, think themſelves ſufficient Politicks, and ſhew their diſcontents when they are not called to the management of the State, and turn from one ſide to the other upon every neglect they fancy from the King or his Enemies.

A. You

A. YOU have seen the Rump in possession (as they believ'd) of the Supreme Power over the two Nations of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Army their Servant, though *Cromwel* thought otherwise, serving them diligently for the advancement of his own purpose; I am now therefore to shew you their Proceedings.

B. Tell me first, how this kind of Government, under the Rump or Relick of a House of Commons, is to be call'd.

A. 'Tis doubtless an *Oligarchy*; for the Supreme Authority must needs be in one man, or in more; if in one, it is *Monarchy*; the Rump therefore was no *Monarchy*; if the Authority were in more than one, it was in all, or in fewer than all: when in all, it is *Democracy*; for every man may enter into the Assembly which makes the Soveraign Court, which they could not do here: It is therefore manifest, the Authority was in a few, and consequently the State was an *Oligarchy*.

B. It is not impossible for a people to be well govern'd, that are to obey more Masters than one.

A. Both the Rump, and all other Soveraign Assemblies, if they have but one Voice, though they be many men, yet are they but one Person; for contrary Commands cannot consist in one and the same Voice, which is the Voice of the greatest part: and therefore they might govern well enough, if they had honesty and wit enough.

The first Act of the Rump, was the Exclusion of those Members of the House of Commons which had been formerly kept out by violence, for the procuring of an Ordinance for the Kings Tryal; for these men had appear'd against the Ordinance of Non-Addresses, and therefore to be excluded, because they might else be an impediment to their future designs.

B. Was it not rather, because in the Authority of few, they thought the fewer the better, both in regard of their shares, and also of a nearer approach in every one of them to the Dignity of a King?

A. Yes certainly, that was their principal end.

B. When these were put out, why did not the Counties and Burroughs chuse others in their places?

A. They could not do that without Order from the House: After this, they constituted a Council of forty persons, which they termed a Council of State; whose Office was to execute what the Rump should command.

B. When there was neither King nor House of Lords, they could not call themselves a Parliament; for a Parliament is a meeting of the King, Lords, and Commons, to confer together about the businesses of the Common-wealth: with whom did the Rump confer?

A. Men may give to their Assembly what Name they please, what signification soever such Name might formerly have had; and the Rump took

took the Name of Parliament, as moſt ſuitable to their purpoſe; and ſuch a Name, as being Venerable among the people for many hundred years, had countenanced and ſweetened Subſidies, and other Levies of Money, otherwiſe very unpleaſant to the Subject: They took alſo afterwards another Name, which was, *Cuſtodes Libertatis, Angliæ*; which Title they uſed onely in their Writs iſſuing out of the Courts of Juſtice.

B. I do not ſee how a Subject that is tyed to the Laws, can have more liberty in one form of Government than another.

A. Howſoever, to the people that underſtand by Liberty nothing but leave to do what they liſt, it was a Title not ingrateful.

Their next work was to ſet forth a publick Declaration, that they were fully reſolv'd to maintain the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, as to the preſervation of the Lives, Liberties, and Proprieties of the people.

B. What did they mean by the Fundamental Laws of the Nation?

A. Nothing but to abuſe the people; for the onely Fundamental Law in every Common-wealth, is to obey the Laws from time to time, which he ſhall make, to whom the people have given the Supreme Power: How likely then are they to uphold the Fundamental Laws, that had murdered him, who was by themſelves ſo often acknowledged their lawful Soveraign? Beſides, at the ſame time that this Declaration came forth,

they were erecting the High Court of Justice, which took away the lives of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*; whatsoever they meant by a Fundamental Law, the erecting of this Court was a breach of it, as being warranted by no former Law, or Example in *England*.

At the same time also they levied Taxes by Souldiers, and permitted Free Quarter to them; and did many other Actions, which if the King had done, they would have said, had been done against the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject.

B. What silly things are the common sort of people, to be cozen'd as they were so grosly!

A. What sort of people, as to this matter, are not of the common sort? the craftiest Knaves of all the Rump were no wiser than the rest whom they cozen'd; for the most of them did believe, that the same things which they impos'd upon the generality, were just and reasonable; and especially the great Haranguers, and such as pretended to Learning: for who can be a good Subject in a Monarchy, whose Principles are taken from the Enemies of Monarchy? such as were *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Cato*, and other Polititians of *Rome*, and *Aristotle* of *Athens*, who spake of Kings but as Wolves, and other ravenous Beasts? You may perhaps think a man has need of nothing else, to know the duty he owes to his Governour, and what right he has to order him, but a good natural Wit: But it is otherwise; for

for it is a Science, and built upon ſure and clear Principles, and to be learn'd by deep and careful ſtudy, or from Maſters that have deeply ſtudied it: And who was there in the Parliament, or in the Nation, that could finde out thoſe evident Principles, and derive from thence the neceſſary Rules of Juſtice, and the neceſſary Connexion of Juſtice and Peace? The people have one day in ſeven the leiſure to hear Inſtructions, and there are Miniſters appointed to teach them their duty: But how have theſe Miniſters perform'd their Office? A great part of them, namely, the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, throughout the whole War, inſtigated the people againſt the King; ſo did alſo *Independant*, and other fanatick Miniſters: The reſt contented with their Livings, preached in their Pariſhes points of Controverſie, to Religion impertinent, but to the breach of Charity, among themſelves, very effectual; or elſe Eloquent things, which the people either underſtood not, or thought themſelves not concern'd in: But this ſort of Preachers, as they did little good, ſo they did little hurt; the miſchief proceeded wholly from the *Presbyterian* Preachers, who by a long practis'd Hiſtrionick Faculty, preached up the Rebellion powerfully.

B. To what end?

A. To the end, that the State becoming popular, the Church might be ſo too, and govern'd by an Aſſembly; and conſequently (as they thought) ſeeing Politicks are ſubſervient to

Religion, they might govern, and thereby satisfie their covetous humour with Riches, and also their malice with Power to undo all men that admir'd not their Wisdome. Your calling the people silly things, oblig'd me by this digression to shew you, that it is not want of Wit, but want of the Science of Justice that brought them into those troubles. Perswade, if you can, that man that has made his Fortune, or made it greater, or an Eloquent Orator, or a ravishing Poet, or a subtil Lawyer, or but a good Hunter, or a cunning Gamester, that he has not a good Wit; and yet there were of all these a great many so silly as to be deceived by the Rump. They wanted not wit, but the knowledge of the Causes and grounds upon which one person has a Right to govern, and the rest an Obligation to obey; which grounds are necessary to be taught the people, who without them cannot live long in peace among themselves.

B. Let us return, if you please, to the Proceedings of the Rump.

A. In the rest of the year, they voted a new Stamp for the Coyn of this Nation: They considered also of Agents to be sent into foreign parts; and having lately receiv'd Applause from the Army for their work done by the High Court of Justice, and encouragement to extend the same farther, they perfected the said High Court of Justice, in which were tryed Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Capel*, the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen*; whereof (as

(as I mention'd before) the first three were beheaded. This affrighted divers of the Kings Party out of the Land; for not onely they, but all that had born Arms for the King, were at that time in very great danger of their lives: for it was put to the question by the Army at a Council of War, Whether they should be all massacred or no; where the *No*'s carried it but by two Voices. Lastly, *March* 24, they put the Mayor of *London* out of his Office, fined him Two thousand pound, disfranchised him, and condemn'd him to two months imprisonment in the *Tower*, for refusing to proclaim the Act for aboliſhing of the Kingly Power. And thus ended the year 1648, and the Monthly-Fast, God having granted that which they fasted for, the Death of the King, and the possession of his Inheritance. By these their Proceedings, they had already lost the hearts of the generality of the people, and had nothing to trust to but the Army, which was not in their power, but in *Cromwel*'s, who never fail'd, when there was occasion, to put them upon all Exploits that might make them odious to the people, in order to his future dissolving them, whensoever it should conduce to his ends. In the beginning of 1649, the *Scots*, discontented with the Proceedings of the Rump against the late King, began to levy Souldiers, in order to a new Invasion of *England*. The *Irish* Rebels, for want of timely resistance from *England*, were grown terrible; and the *English* Army at home, infected by the Adjutators,

tors, began to caſt about, how to ſhare the Land among the Godly, meaning themſelves, and ſuch others as they pleas'd, who were therefore called *Levellers*: Alſo the Rump, for the preſent, were not very well provided of Money; and therefore the firſt thing they did, was the laying of a Tax upon the people, of Ninety thouſand pound a month, for the Maintenance of the Army.

B. Was it not one of their Quarrels with the King, that he had levied Money without the conſent of the people in Parliament?

A. You may ſee by this what reaſon the Rump had to call it ſelf a Parliament; for the Taxes impoſed by Parliament, were always underſtood to be by the Peoples conſent, and conſequently legal.

To appeaſe the *Scots*, they ſent Meſſengers with flattering Letters, to keep them from ingaging for the preſent King; but in vain: for they would hear nothing from a Houſe of Commons (as they call'd it) at *Weſtminſter*, without a King and Lords: But they ſent Commiſſioners to the King, to let him know what they were doing for him, for they were reſolv'd to raiſe an Army of Seventeen thouſand Foot, and Six thouſand Horſe for themſelves. To relieve *Ireland*, the Rump had reſolv'd to ſend Eleven Regiments thither out of the Army in *England*. This happened well for *Cromwel*; for the Levelling Souldiers, which were in every Regiment many, and in ſome the major part, finding that inſtead

inſtead of dividing the Land at home, they were to venture their lives in *Ireland*, flatly denied to go; and one Regiment having caſhier'd their Colonel about *Salisbury*, was marching to joyn with three Regiments more of the ſame reſolution: but both the General, and *Cromwel*, falling upon them at *Burford*, utterly defeated them, and ſoon after reduced the whole Army to their obedience: And thus another of the Impediments to *Cromwel*'s Advancement was ſoon remov'd. Thus done, they came to *Oxford*, and thence to *London*; and at *Oxford*, both the General and *Cromwel* were made Doctors of the Civil Law; and at *London* feaſted and preſented by the City.

B. Were they not firſt made Maſters, then Doctors?

A. They had made themſelves Maſters already, both of the Laws, and Parliament. The Army being now obedient, the Rump ſent over thoſe eleven Regiments into *Ireland*, under the Command of Doctor *Cromwel*, entituled, Governour of that Kingdom, the Lord *Fairfax* being ſtill General of all the Forces both here and there.

The Marqueſs, now Duke of *Ormond*, was the Kings Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and the Rebels had made a Confederacy among themſelves, and thoſe Confederates had made a kind of League with the Lieutenant, wherein they agreed upon liberty given them in the exerciſe of their Religion, to be faithful to, and aſſiſt the King. To

theſe alſo were joyned ſome Forces raiſed by the Earls of *Caſtlehaven*, and *Clanriccard*, and my Lord *Inchequin*, ſo that they were the greateſt United Strength in the Iſland; but there were among them a great many other *Papiſts* that would by no means ſubject themſelves to *Proteſtants*, and theſe were called the *Nuncio*'s Party, as the other were called the Confederate Party. Theſe Parties not agreeing, and the Confederate Party having broken their Articles, the Lord-Lieutenant ſeeing them ready to beſiege him in *Dublin*, and not able to defend it; to preſerve the place for the *Proteſtants*, ſurrenders it to the Parliament of *England*, and came over to the King, at this time when he was carried from place to place by the Army. From *England* he went over to the Prince, now King, reſiding then at *Paris*: But the Confederates affrighted with the news that the Rump was ſending over an Army thither, deſir'd the Prince, by Letters, to ſend back my Lord of *Ormond*, ingaging themſelves to ſubmit abſolutely to the Kings Authority, and to obey my Lord of *Ormond* as his Lieutenant: And thereupon he was ſent back. This was about a year before the going over of *Cromwel*; in which time, by the Diſſentions in *Ireland* between the Confederate Party, and the *Nuncio*'s Party, and diſcontents about Command, this otherwiſe-ſufficient Power effected nothing, and was at laſt defeated, *Auguſt* the ſecond, by a Salley out of *Dublin*, which they were beſieging. Within a few days after arriv'd

arriv'd *Cromwel*; who with extraordinary diligence, and horrid Executions, in leſs than a Twelvemonth that he ſtaid there, ſubdued, in a manner, the whole Nation, having kill'd or exterminated a great part of them, and leaving his Son-in-law *Ireton* to ſubdue the reſt: But *Ireton* died there (before the buſineſs was quite done) of the Plague. This was one ſtep more towards *Cromwel*'s Exaltation to the Throne.

B. What a miſerable condition was *Ireland* reduced to by the Learning of the *Roman*, as well as *England* was by the Learning of the *Presbyterian* Clergy?

A. In the latter end of the preceding year, the King was come from *Paris* to the *Hague*, and ſhortly after came thither from the Rump their Agent *Doriſlaus*, Doctor of the Civil Law, who had been employed in the drawing of the Charge againſt the late King: But the firſt night he came, as he was at Supper, a Company of Cavaliers, neer a dozen, entred his Chamber, kill'd him, and got away. Not long after alſo, their Agent at *Madrid*, one *Aſcham*, that had written in defence of his Maſters, was kill'd in the ſame manner. About this time came out two Books; one written by *Salmaſius*, a *Presbyterian*, againſt the Murder of the King; another written by *Milton*, an *Independant* in *England*, in Anſwer to it.

B. I have ſeen them both; they are very good Latine both, and hardly to be judged which is better;

better; and both very ill reaſoning, and hardly to be judged which is worſt: like two Declamations *Pro* and *Con*, for exerciſe only in a Rhetorick School, by one and the ſame man: ſo like is a Presbyterian to an Independent.

A. In this year the *Rump* did not much at home, ſave that in the beginning they made *England* a Free State, by an Act which runs thus: *Be it Enacted and Declared by this preſent Parliament, and by the Authority thereof, That the People of* England, *and all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, are and ſhall be, and are hereby conſtituted, made, and declared a Common-wealth, and Free State*, &c.

B. What did they mean by a Free State and Common-wealth? were the People no longer to be ſubject to Laws? They could not mean that: for the Parliament meant to Govern them by their own Laws, and puniſh ſuch as broke them. Did they mean that *England* ſhould not be ſubject to any foreign Kingdom or Common-wealth? That needed not to be Enacted, ſeeing there was no King nor People pretended to be their Maſters. What did they mean then?

A. They meant that neither this King, nor any King, nor any ſingle perſon, but onely that they themſelves would be the Peoples Maſters; and would have ſet it down in thoſe plain words, if the people could have been cozen'd with words intelligible as eaſily as with words not intelligible.

After this they gave one another Money and Eſtates.

Eſtates out of the Lands and Goods of the Loyal Party. They Enacted alſo an Engagement to be taken by every man, in theſe words, *You ſhall promiſe to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth of* England, *as it is now eſtabliſhed, without King or Houſe of Lords.*

They baniſhed alſo from within twenty miles of *London* all the Loyal Party, forbidding every one of them to depart more than five miles from his dwelling-houſe.

B. They meant perhaps to have them ready, if need were, for a Maſſacre: But what did the *Scots* in this time?

A. They were conſidering of the Officers of the Army which they were levying for the King, how they might exclude from Command all ſuch as had Loyally ſerved His now Majeſtie's Father, and all Independants, and all ſuch as Commanded in Duke *Hamilton*'s Army: And theſe were the main things that paſſed this year.

The Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, that had in the year 1645. with a few Men, and in a little time, done things almoſt incredible againſt the late King's Enemies in *Scotland*, landed now again in the beginning of the Year 1650. in the North of *Scotland*, with Commiſſion from the preſent King, hoping to do him as good ſervice, as he had formerly done his Father; but the caſe was altered, for the *Scotch* Forces were then in *England*, in the Service of the Parliament; whereas now they were in *Scotland*, and many more (for their intended Invaſion) newly rais'd:

raiſed: Beſides, the Souldiers which the Marqueſs brought over were few, and Forreigners; nor did the *High-landers* come in to him, as he expected; inſomuch as he was ſoon defeated, and ſhortly after taken; and (with more ſpiteful uſage than revenge requir'd) Executed by the Covenanters at *Edinborough*, *May* the 2d.

B. What good could the King expect from joyning with theſe men, who, during the Treaty, diſcovered ſo much malice to him in one of his beſt Subjects?

A. No doubt (their Church-men being then prevalent) they would have done as much to this King, as the *Engliſh* Parliament had done to his Father, if they could have gotten by it that which they fooliſhly aſpir'd to, the Government of the Nation: I do not believe that the *Independants* were worſe than the *Presbyterians*; both the one and the other were reſolved to deſtroy whatſoever ſhould ſtand in the way to their Ambition: but neceſſity made the King paſs over both this and many other Indignities from them, rather than ſuffer the purſuit of his Right in *England* to cool, and be little better than extinguiſhed.

B. Indeed, I believe the Kingdom, if ſuffered to become an old Debt, will hardly ever be recovered: Beſides, the King was ſure, where ever the Victory lighted, he could looſe nothing in the War but Enemies.

A. About the time of *Montroſſes* death, which was in *May*, *Cromwel* was yet in *Ireland*, and his work

work unfiniſhed; but finding, or by his Friends advertis'd, that his preſence in the Expedition now preparing againſt the *Scots*, would be neceſſary to his Deſign, ſent to the Rump, to know their pleaſure, concerning his return: But for all that, he knew, or thought it was not neceſſary to ſtay for their Anſwer, but came away, and arrived at *London* the ſixth of *June* following, and was welcomed by the Rump. Now had General *Fairfax* (who was truly what he pretended to be, a *Presbyterian*) been ſo Catechis'd by the *Presbyterian* Miniſters here, that he refus'd to fight againſt the Brethren in *Scotland*; nor did the Rump, nor *Cromwel* go about to rectifie his Conſcience in that point. And thus *Fairfax* laying down his Commiſſion, *Cromwel* was now made General of all the Forces in *England* and *Ireland*; which was another ſtep to the Sovereign power.

B. Where was the King?

A. In *Scotland*, newly come over; he landed in the *North*, and was honourably conducted to *Edinborough*, though all things were not yet well agreed upon between the *Scots* and him: for he had yielded to as hard Conditions, as the late King had yielded to in the Iſle of *Wight*; yet they had ſtill ſomewhat to add, till the King enduring no more, departed from them towards the *North* again: But they ſent Meſſengers after him, to pray him to return; but they furniſhed theſe Meſſengers with ſtrength enough to bring him back, if he ſhould have refus'd. In fine,

they

they agreed, but would not suffer the King, or any Royallist, to have Command in the Army.

B. The sum of all is, the King was their Prisoner.

A. Cromwel from *Berwick* sends a Declaration to the *Scots*, telling them, he had no quarrel against the people of *Scotland*, but against the Malignant Party that had brought in the King, to the disturbance of the Peace between the two Nations; and that he was willing by Conference to give and receive satisfaction, or to decide the Justice of the Cause by Battel: To which the *Scots* answering, declare, That they will not prosecute the Kings Interest, before and without his acknowledgment of the sins of his House, and his former ways; and satisfaction given to Gods people in both Kingdoms. Judge by this, whether the present King were not in as bad a condition here, as his Father was in the hands of the *Presbyterians* of *England.*

B. Presbyterians are every where the same; they would fain be absolute Governours of all they converse with; and have nothing to plead for it, but that where they reign, 'tis God that reigns, and no where else. But I observe one strange demand, that the King should acknowledge the sins of his House; for I thought it had been certain from all Divines, that no man was bound to acknowledge any mans sins but his own.

A. The King having yielded to all that the Church required, the *Scots* proceeded in their inten-

intended War. *Cromwel* marched on to *Edinborough*, provoking them all he could to Battel; which they declining, and proviſions growing ſcarce in the *Engliſh* Army, *Cromwel* retired to *Dunbar*, deſpairing of ſucceſs, and intending by Sea or Land to get back into *England*: And ſuch was the condition which this General *Cromwel*, ſo much magnified for Conduct, had brought his Army to, that all his Glories had ended in ſhame and puniſhment, if Fortune's, and the faults of his Enemies, had not relieved him: for as he retir'd, the *Scots* followed him cloſe all the way, till within a mile of *Dunbar*. There is a ridge of Hills, that from beyond *Edinborough* goes winding to the Sea, and croſſes the Highway between *Dunbar* and *Barwick*, at a Village called *Copperſpeith*, where the paſſage is ſo difficult, that if the *Scots* had ſent timely thither a very few men to guard it, the *Engliſh* could never have paſſed: for the *Scots* kept the Hills, and needed not have fought, but upon great advantage, and were almoſt two to one. *Cromwel*'s Army was at the Foot of thoſe Hills, on the North ſide; and there was a great Ditch, or Channel of a Torrent, between the Hills and it; ſo that he could never have got home by Land, nor without utter ruine of the Army attempted to ſhip it, nor have ſtayed where he was for want of Proviſions. Now *Cromwel* knowing the Paſs was free, and commanding a good Party of Horſe and Foot to poſſeſs it, it was neceſſary for the *Scots* to let them go, whom they brag'd they had

had impounded, or else to fight, and therefore with the best of their Horse charged the *English*, and made them at first to shrink a little; but the *English* Foot coming on, the *Scots* were put to flight, and the flight of their Horse hindred the Foot from engaging, who therefore fled, as did also the rest of their Horse. Thus the folly of the *Scotish* Commanders brought all these odds to an even lay between two small and equal Parties, wherein Fortune gave the Victory to the *English*, who were not many more in number than those that were killed and taken Prisoners of the *Scots*; and the Church lost their Cannon, Bag and Baggage, with 1000 Arms, and almost their whole Army; the rest were got together by *Lesby* and *Sterling*.

B. This Victory hapned well for the King; for had the *Scots* been Victors, the Presbyterians both there and here would have domineer'd again, and the King been in the same condition his Father was in at *Newcastle*, in the hands of the *Scotish* Army. For in pursuit of this Victory, the *English* at last brought the *Scots* to a pretty good habit of obedience for the King, whensoever he should recover his Right.

A. In pursuit of this Victory, the *English* marched to *Edinborough*, quitted by the *Scots*, fortified *Leith*, and took in all the strength and Castles they thought fit on this side the *Frith*, which was now become the Bounds betwixt the two Nations; and the *Scotch* Ecclesiasticks began to know themselves better, and resolved in

in their new Army, which they meant to raiſe, to admit ſome of the Royaliſts into Command: *Cromwel* from *Edinborough* marched towards *Sterling* to provoke the Enemy to fight; but finding danger in it, returned to *Edinborough*, and beſieged the Caſtle: in the mean time he ſent a Party into the Weſt of *Scotland*, to ſuppreſs *Straughan* and *Kerr*, two great Presbyterians, that were there levying of Forces for their new Army. And in the ſame time the *Scots* Crowned the King at *Schone*.

The reſt of this year was ſpent in *Scotland*, on *Cromwel*'s part in taking of *Edinborough* Caſtle, and in attempts to paſs the *Frith*, or any other ways to get over to the *Scotiſh* Forces; and on the *Scots* part, in haſtning their Leavies for the North.

B. What did the Rump at home during this time?

A. They voted Liberty of Conſcience to the Sectaries; that is, they pluckt out the ſting of Presbytery, which conſiſted in a ſevere impoſing of odd Opinions upon the people, impertinent to Religion, but conducing to the advancement of the power of the Presbyterian Miniſters. Alſo they levyed more Souldiers, and gave the Command of them to *Harriſon*, now made Major-General, a Fifth-Monarchy man; and of thoſe Souldiers, two Regiments of Horſe and one of Foot were raiſed by the Fifth-Monarchy men, and other Sectaries, in thankfulneſs for this their liberty from the Presbyterian Tyranny.

ny. Also they pull'd down the late Kings Statue in the *Exchange*, and in the place where it stood, caused to be written these words, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus*, &c.

B. What good did that do them? and why did not they pull down all the Statues of all the rest of the Kings?

A. What account can be given of actions that proceed not from Reason, but spight and such like passions? Besides this, they received Ambassadors from *Portugal* and *Spain*, acknowledging their power: And in the very end of the year, they prepared an Ambassador to the *Netherlands*, to offer them friendship: All they did besides, was persecuting and executing of Royalists.

In the beginning of the Year 1651. General *Dean* arrived in *Scotland*; and on the 11th. of *April* the *Scotish* Parliament assembled, and made certain Acts, in order to a better uniting of themselves, and better obedience to the King, who was now at *Sterling* with the *Scotish* Forces he had, expecting more now in levying. *Cromwel* from *Edinborough* went divers times to *Sterling*, to provoke them to fight: There was no Ford there to pass over his men: At last, Boats being come from *London* and *Newcastle*, Colonel *Overton* (though it were long first, for it was now *July*) Transported 1400 Foot of his own, besides another Regiment of Foot, and four Troops of Horse, and intrencht himself at *North-Ferry* on the other side; and before any help

help could come from *Sterling* Major General *Lambert* also was got over with as many more; by this time Sir *John Brown* was come to oppose them with 4500 men, whom the *English* there defeated, killing about 2000, and taking Prisoners 1600. This done, and as much more of the Army transported as was thought fit, *Cromwel* comes before St. *Johnston*'s (from whence the *Scotish* Parliament, upon news of his passing the *Frith*, was removed to *Dundee*) and summons it; and the same day had news brought him, that the King was marching from *Sterling* towards *England*, which was true; but notwithstanding the King was three days march before him, he resolved to have the Town before he followed him, and accordingly had it the next day by surrender.

B. What hopes had the King in coming into *England*, having before and behind him none, at least none armed, but his Enemies?

A. Yes there was before him the City of *London*, which generally hated the Rump, and might easily be reckoned for 20000 well armed Souldiers; and most men believed they would have taken his part had he come near the City.

B. What probability was there of that? Do you think the Rump was not sure of the service of the Mayor, and those that Commanded the City Militia? And if they had been really the Kings Friends, what need had they to stay his coming up to *London*? They might have seiz'd the Rump if they had pleas'd, which had no possibility

of defending themſelves; at leaſt, they might have turn'd them out of the Houſe.

A. This they did not, but on the contrary permitted the recruiting of *Cromwel*'s Army, and the raiſing of men to keep the Country from coming in to the King. The King began his march from *Sterling*, the laſt of *July*, and *Aug.* 22. came to *Worceſter*, by the way of *Carliſle*, with a weary Army, of about 13000; whom *Cromwel* followed, and joining with the new Levies, environ'd *Worceſter*, with 40000, and on the third of *September* utterly defeated the Kings Army: Here Duke *Hamilton*, brother of him that was beheaded, was ſlain.

B. What became of the King?

A. Night coming on before the City was quite taken, he left it, being dark, and none of the Enemies Horſe within the Town to follow him; the plundering Foot having kept the Gates ſhut, leſt the Horſe ſhould enter, and have a ſhare of the Booty: The King before morning got into *Warwickſhire*, 25 Miles from *Worceſter*, and there lay diſguiſed a while, and afterwards went up and down in great danger of being diſcovered, till at laſt he got over into *France* from *Brighthempſtead* in *Suſſex*.

B. When *Cromwel* was gone, what was farther done in *Scotland?*

A. Lieutenant Gen. *Monk* whom *Cromwel* left there with 7000 took *Sterling*, *Auguſt* the 14th, by ſurrender; and *Dundee* the third of *September* by Storm, becauſe it reſiſted; this the Souldiers plundered,

plundered, and had good booty, becauſe the *Scots* for ſafety had ſent thither their moſt precious Goods from *Edinburrough* and St. *Johnſton*'s; he took likewiſe by ſurrender *Aberdeen*, and the place where the Scotiſh Miniſters firſt learn'd to play the Fools, St. *Andrews*; Alſo in the *Highlands* Colonel *Alured* took a knot of Lords and Gentlemen, *viz.* four Earls, and four Lords, and above twenty Knights and Gentlemen, whom he ſent Priſoners into *England*, ſo that there was nothing more to be fear'd from *Scotland*: all the trouble of the *Rump* was to reſolve what they ſhould do with it, at laſt they reſolv'd to Unite and Incorporate it into a Commonwealth with *England* and *Ireland*, and to that end ſent thither St. *Johns*, *Vane*, and other Commiſſioners, to offer them this Union by publique Declaration, and to warn them to chuſe their Deputies of Shires, Burgeſſes of Towns, and ſend them to *Weſtminſter*.

B. This was a great favour.

A. I think ſo; and yet it was by many of the *Scots*, eſpecially by the Miniſters and other *Preſbyterians* refuſed: the Miniſters had given way to the Levying of Mony for the payment of the *Engliſh* Souldiers, but to comply with the Declaration of *Engliſh* Commiſſioners they abſolutely forbad.

B. Methinks this Contributing to the Pay of their Conquerors was ſome mark of Servitude, where entring into the Union made them Free, and gave them equal Priviledge with the *Engliſh*.

A. The cause why they refused the Union, rendered by the *Presbyterians* themselves, was this, that it drew with it a subordination of the Church to the Civil State in the things of Christ.

B. This is a down-right Declaration to all Kings and Common-wealths in general, that a Presbyterian Minister will be a true Subject to none of them in the things of Christ, which things what they are they will be Judges themselves. What then have we gotten by our Deliverance from the Popes Tyranny, if these pretty Men succeed in the place of it, that have nothing in them that can be beneficial to the Publique, except their silence; for their Learning, it amounts to no more than an imperfect knowledge of Greek and Latin, and acquired readiness in the Scripture Language, with a Gesture and Tone suitable thereunto: but of Justice and Charity (the Manners of Religion) they have neither Knowledge nor Practice, as is manifest by the Stories I have already told you: nor do they distinguish between the Godly and Ungodly, but by Conformity of Design in Men of Judgment: or by Repetition of their Sermons in the Common sort of People.

A. But this sullenness of the *Scots* was to no purpose, for they at *Westminster* Enacted the Union of the two Nations, and the Abolition of Monarchy in *Scotland*, and ordained Punishment for those that should transgress the Act.

B. What other business did the *Rump* this year?

A. They

A. They ſent St. *Johns* and *Strickland* Ambaſſadors to the *Hague*, to offer League to the *United Provinces*, who had Audience *March* the third: St. *Johns* in a Speech ſhewed thoſe States what advantage they might have by this League, in their Trade and Navigations, by the uſe of the Engliſh Ports and Harbours; the *Dutch*, though they ſhewed no great forwardneſs in the buſineſs, yet appointed Commiſſioners to Treat with them about it, but the People were generally againſt it, calling the Ambaſſadors and their Followers (as they were) Traytors and Murderers, and made ſuch Tumults about their Houſe, that their Followers durſt not go abroad till the States had quieted them: the *Rump* advertis'd hereof, preſently recall'd them; the Complement which St. *Johns* gave to the Commiſſioners, at their taking leave, is worth your hearing; *You have* (ſaid he) *an Eye upon the Event of the Affairs of* Scotland, *and therefore do refuſe the Friendſhip we have offered now. I can aſſure you many in the Parliament were of Opinion that we ſhould not have ſent any Ambaſſadors to you, till we had expected your Ambaſſadors to us: I now perceive our Errour, and that thoſe Gentlemen were in the right: In a ſhort time you ſhall ſee that buſineſs ended, when it ſhall perplex you that you have refus'd our Proffer.*

B. St. *Johns* was not ſure that the *Scotiſh* buſineſs would end as it did; for though the *Scots* were beaten at *Dunbar*, he could not be ſure of the Event of their entering of *England*, which happened afterward.

A. But he gueſs'd well; for within a Month after the Battel at *Worceſter*, an Act paſſed, forbidding the importing of Merchandize in other than *Engliſh* Ships: The *Engliſh* alſo moleſted their Fiſhing upon our Coaſt: They alſo many times ſearched their Ships (upon occaſion of our War with *France*) and made ſome of them Prize: and then the *Dutch* ſent their Ambaſſadours hither, to deſire what they before refus'd: but partly alſo to inform themſelves what Naval Forces the *Engliſh* had ready, and how the people were contented with the Government.

B. How ſped they?

A. The Rump ſhewed now as little deſire of Agreement, as the *Dutch* did then, ſtanding upon terms never likely to be granted. Firſt, For the Fiſhing on the *Engliſh* Coaſt, that they ſhould not have it without paying for it. Secondly, That the *Engliſh* ſhould have free Trade from *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, as they had before their Rebellion againſt the King of *Spain*. Thirdly, They demanded amends for the old (but never-to-be-forgotten) buſineſs of *Amboyna*; ſo that the War was already certain, though the Seaſon kept them from Action till the Spring following. The true Quarrel on the *Engliſh* part was, that their proffer'd Friendſhip was ſcorn'd, and their Ambaſſadours affronted: On the *Dutch* part was their gredineſs to Ingroſs all Traffick, and a falſe Eſtimate of our and their own Strength. Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Reliques of the War, both in *Ireland* and *Scotland*,

Scotland, were not neglected, though these Nations were not fully pacified till two years after: The Persecution of Royalists also still continued, among whom was beheaded one M. *Love*, for holding Correspondence with the King.

B. I had thought *Presbyterian* Ministers, whilst they are such, could not be Royalists, because they think their Assembly have the Supreme Power in the things of Christ; and by consequence they are in *England* by a Statute Traytors.

A. You may think so still; for though I called Mr. *Love* a Royalist, I meant it only for that one act for which he was condemned. It was he, who, during the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, preaching before the Comissioners there, said, *It was as possible for Heaven and Hell, as for the King and Parliament to agree.* Both he and the rest of the Presbyterians are and were Enemies to the Kings Enemies, *Cromwel* and his Phanaticks, for their own, not for the Kings sake: Their Loyalty was like that of Sir *John Hotham*, that kept the King out of *Hull*, and afterwards wou'd have betrayed the same to the Marques of *Newcastle*. These Presbyterians therefore cannot be rightly called Loyal, but rather doubly perfidious; unless you think that as two Negatives make an Affirmative, so two Treasons make Loyalty.

This Year also were reduced to the obedience of the Rump, the Islands of *Scilly* and *Man*, and the *Barbado*'s, and *St Christophers*. One thing

fell out that they liked not, which was, that *Cromwel* gave them warning to determine their ſitting, according to the Bill for Triennial Parliaments.

B. That I think was harſh.

A. In the year 1652. *May* 14. began the *Dutch* War in this manner, three *Dutch* Men of War, with divers Merchants from the *Straights*, being diſcovered by one Captain *Young*, who commanded ſome *Engliſh* Frigats, the ſaid *Young* ſent to their Admiral to bid him ſtrike his Flag (a thing uſually done in acknowledgment of the *Engliſh* Dominion in the Narrow Seas) which accordingly he did. Then came up the Vice-Admiral, and being called ſo as the other was to take down his Flag, he anſwered plainly he would not; but after the exchange of four or five Broad-ſides, and miſchief done on either part, he took it down; but Captain *Young* demanded alſo either the Vice-Admiral himſelf, or his Ship, to make ſatisfaction for the damage already ſuſtained. To which the Vice-Admiral anſwered, that he had taken in his Flag, but would defend himſelf and his Ship: whereupon Captain *Young* conſulting with the Captains of his other Ships, leſt the beginning of the War in this time of Treaty ſhould be charged upon himſelf, and night alſo coming on, thought fit to proceed no farther.

B. The War certainly began at this time; but who began it?

A. The Dominion of the Sea belonging to the

the *Engliſh*, there can be no queſtion but the *Dutch* began it; and that the ſaid Dominion belonged to the *Engliſh*, it was confeſt at firſt by the Admiral himſelf peaceably, and at laſt by the Vice-Admiral, taking in their Flags.

About a Fortnight after there happened another Fight, upon the like occaſion, upon *Tromp* with 42 Men of War, who came back to the back of *Godwin-Sands* (Major *Bourn* being then with a few of the Parliaments Ships in the *Downs*, and *Blake* with the reſt farther Weſtward) and ſent two Captains of his to *Bourn* to excuſe his coming thither: To whom *Bourn* returned this anſwer, that the Meſſage was civil; but that it might appear real, he ought to depart. So *Tromp* departed, meaning (now *Bourn* was ſatisfied) to ſail towards *Blake*, and he did ſo; but ſo did alſo *Bourn*, for fear of the worſt. When *Tromp* and *Blake* were near one another, *Blake* made a ſhot over *Tromp*'s Ship, as a warning to him to take in his Flag. This he did thrice, and then *Tromp* gave him a Broad-ſide, and ſo began the Fight (at the beginning whereof *Bourn* came in) and laſted from two a Clock till night, the *Engliſh* having the better, and the Flag as before making the quarrel.

B. What need is there, when both Nations were heartily reſolved to fight, to ſtand ſo much upon this Complement of who ſhould begin? For as to the gaining of Friends and Confederates thereby, I think 'tis in vain; ſeeing

Princes and States, on such occasions, look not much upon the Justice of their Neighbours, but upon their own concernment in the Event.

A. It is commonly so: but in this case the *Dutch* knowing the Dominion of the Narrow Seas to be a gallant Title, and envied by all the Nations that reach the Shore, and consequently that they were likely to oppose it, did wisely enough in making this point the state of the Quarrel.

After this Fight, the *Dutch* Ambassadours residing in *England*, sent a Paper to the Council of State, wherein they stiled this last Encounter a rash action, and affirmed it was done without the knowledge, and against the will of their Lords, the States General, and desired them that nothing might be done upon it in heat, which might become irreparable. The Parliament hereupon voted, First, That the States General should pay the Charges they were at, and for the Damages they sustained upon this occasion. Secondly, That this being paid, there should be a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility, and a mutual Restitution of all Ships and Goods taken. Thirdly, And both these agreed so, that there should be made a League between the two Common-wealths. These Votes were sent to the *Dutch* Ambassadours, in answer of the said Paper; but with a Preamble setting forth he former kindnesses of *England* to the *Netherlands*, and taking notice of their new fleet of 150 Men of War, without any other appa-

apparent Design than the Destruction of the *English* Fleet.

B. What answer made the *Dutch* to this?

A. None. *Tromp* sailed presently into *Zealand*, and *Blake* with 70 Men of War to the *Orkney*-Islands, to seize their Busses, and to wait for five *Dutch* Ships from the *East-Indies*; and Sir *George Ascue*, newly return'd from the *Barbados*, came into the *Downs* with fifteen Men of War, where he was commanded to stay for a Recruit out of the *Thames*. *Tromp* being recruited to 120 Sail, made account to get in between Sir *George Ascue*, and the Mouth of the River, but was hindred so long by contrary Winds, that the Merchants calling for his Convoy, he could stay no longer; and so he went back into *Holland*, and thence to *Orkney*, where he met with the said five *East-India* Ships, and sent them home: and then he endeavour'd to ingage with *Blake*, but a sudden Storm forced him to Sea, and so dissipated his Fleet, that only forty two came home in one Body, the rest singly as well as they could; *Blake* also came home, but went first to the Coast of *Holland*, with 900 Prisoners, and six Men of War taken, which were part of twelve which he found and took Guarding their Busses. This was the first Bout after the War declar'd.

In *August* following there happened a Fight between *De Ruyter*, the Admiral of *Zealand*, with fifty Men of War, and Sir *George Ascue*, near *Plimouth*, with forty; wherein Sir *George* had the better; and might have got an entire Victory, had the

the whole Fleet ingaged. Whatsoever was the matter, the *Rump* (though they rewarded him) never more imployed him, after his return, in their service at Sea; but Voted for the year to come three Generals, *Blake* that was one already, and *Dean*, and *Monk*.

About this time Arch-Duke *Leopold* besieging *Dunkirk*, and the *French* sending a Fleet to relieve it, General *Blake* lighting on the *French* at *Calais*, and taking seven of their Ships, was cause of the Towns surrender.

In *September* they fought again, *De Wit* and *Ruyter* commanding the *Dutch*, and *Blake* the *English*; and the *Dutch* were again worsted.

Again, in the end of *November*, *Van Tromp* with 80 Men of War shewed himself at the back of *Godwin-sands*, where *Blake*, though he had with him but 40, adventur'd to fight with him, and had much the worst, and (night parting the Fray) retir'd into the River of *Thames*; whilst *Van Tromp* keeping the Sea, took some inconsiderable Vessels from the *English*; and thereupon, (as it is said) with a Childish Vanity, hung out a Broom from his Main Top-Mast, signifying he meant to sweep the Sea of all English Shipping.

After this, in *February*, the *Dutch* with *Van Tromp*, were encountred by the *English* under *Blake* and *Dean*, near *Ports-mouth*, and had the worst. And these were all the Encounters between them this year in the narrow Seas: they fought also once at *Legorn*, where the *Dutch* had the better.

B. I ſee no great odds yet on either ſide, if there were any the *Engliſh* had it.

A. Nor did either of them e're the more incline to Peace; for the *Hollanders*, after they had ſent Ambaſſadours into *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, and the *Hans* Towns (whence Tar and Cordage are uſually had) to ſignifie the Declaration of the War; and to get them to their Party, recalled their Ambaſſadours from *England*, and the *Rump* without delay gave them their parting Audience, without abating a Syllable of their former ſevere Propoſitions; and preſently to maintain the War for the next year, laid a Tax upon the People of 120000 *l. per Menſem.*

B. What was done in the mean time at home?

A. Cromwel was now quarrelling (the laſt and greateſt Obſtacle to his Deſign) the Rump; and to that end there came out daily from the Army Petitions, Addreſſes, Remonſtrances, and other ſuch Papers, ſome of them urging the Rump to diſſolve themſelves, and make way for another Parliament; to which the Rump unwilling to yield, and not daring to refuſe, determin'd for the end of their ſitting the fifth of *November*, 1654. but *Cromwel* meant not to ſtay ſo long. In the mean time the Army in *Ireland* was taking Submiſſions, and granting Tranſportations of the *Iriſh*, and condemned who they pleaſed in a High Court of Juſtice erected there for that purpoſe. Among thoſe that were executed, was hang'd Sir *Phelim Oneale*, who firſt began the Rebellion in *Scotland*; the *Engliſh* built ſome Citadels

tadels for the bridling that ſtubborn Nation: And thus ended the year 1652.

B. Come we then to the year 1653.

A. Cromwel wanted now but one ſtep to the end of his Ambition; and that was, to ſet his Foot upon the Neck of this Long-Parliament, which he did *April* the 23. of this preſent year, 1653. a time very ſeaſonable; for though the *Dutch* were not Maſter'd, yet they were much weakened; and what with Prizes from the Enemy, and ſqueezing the Royal Party, the Treaſury was pretty full, and the Tax of 120000 *l.* a Month began to come in, all which was his own in right of the Army: Therefore without any more ado, attended by the Major Generals, *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, and ſome other Officers, and as many Souldiers as he thought fit, he went to the Parliament-Houſe, and diſſolv'd them, turn'd them out, and lock'd up the Doors; and for this Action he was more applauded by the people, than for any of his Victories in the War, and the Parliament-men as much ſcorn'd and derided.

B. Now that there was no Parliament, who had the Supreme Power?

A. If by Power you mean the Right to Govern, no body had it; if you mean the Supreme Strength, it was clearly in *Cromwel*, who was obeyed as General of all the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

B. Did he pretend that for Title?

A. No, but preſently after he intended a Title, which was this, That he was neceſſitated for the

the defence of the Cauſe, for which at firſt the Parliament had taken up Arms, (that is to ſay, Rebell'd) to have recourſe to extraordinary Actions: You know the pretence of the Long-Parliaments Rebellion was *Salus Populi*, the ſafety of the Nation againſt a dangerous Conſpiracy of *Papiſts*, and a Malignant Party at home; and that every man is bound, as far as his Power extends, to procure the ſafety of the whole Nation, (which none but the Army were able to do, and the Parliament had hitherto neglected) was it not then the General's Duty to do it? had he not therefore Right? for that Law of *Salus Populi* is directed only to thoſe that have Power enough to defend the People; that is, to them that have the Supreme Power.

B. Yes certainly, he had as good a Title as the Long-Parliament, but the Long-Parliament did repreſent the People, and it ſeems to me that the Soveraign Power is eſſentially annexed to the Repreſentative of the People.

A. Yes, if he that makes a Repreſentative, that is (in the preſent caſe) the King, do call them together to receive the Soveraign Power, and he diveſt himſelf thereof, otherwiſe not; nor was ever the lower Houſe of Parliament the Repreſentative of the whole Nation, but of the Commons only; nor had that Houſe the Power to oblige by their Acts, or Ordinances, any Lord, or any Prieſt.

B. Did *Cromwel* come in upon the only Title of *Salus Populi?* For this is a Title very few underſtand?

A. His

A. His way was to get the Supreme Power conferr'd upon him by Parliament; therefore he call'd a Parliament, and gave it the Supreme Power, to the end that they ſhould give it to him again; was not this witty: Firſt therefore he publiſhed a Declaration of the Cauſes why he diſſolv'd the Parliament; the ſum whereof was, That inſtead of endeavouring to promote the good of God's people, they endeavour'd (by a Bill then ready to paſs) to recruit the Houſe, and perpetuate their own Power. Next he conſtituted a Council of State of his own Creatures to be the Supreme Authority of *England*, but no longer than till the next Parliament ſhould be call'd and met: Thirdly he ſummoned a hundred forty two perſons, ſuch as he himſelf or his truſty Officers made choice of, the greateſt part of whom were inſtructed what to do, obſcure perſons, moſt of them *Phanaticks*, though ſtiled by *Cromwel*, *Men of approved Fidelity and Honeſty*: To theſe the Council of State ſurrendred the Supreme Authority; and not long after theſe Men ſurrendred it to *Cromwel*. *July* the fourth this Parliament met, and choſe for their Speaker one Mr. *Rous*, and called themſelves from that time forward the Parliament of *England*. But *Cromwel*, for the more ſurety conſtituted alſo a Council of State, not of ſuch petty Fellows as moſt of theſe were, but of himſelf and of his principal Officers. Theſe did all the buſineſs both publick and private, making Ordinances, and giving Audience to Foreign Ambaſſadors. But

he

he had now more Enemies than before: *Harrison*, who was the Head of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, laying down his Commission, did nothing but animate his party against him, for which afterward he was Imprisoned. This little Parliament in the mean time were making of Acts so ridiculous and displeasing to the People, that it was thought he chose them on purpose to bring all Ruling Parliaments into contempt, and Monarchy again into Credit.

B. What Acts were these?

A. One of them was, That all Marriages should be made by a Justice of Peace, and the Banes asked three several days in the next Market. None were forbidden to be married by a Minister, but without a Justice of Peace the Marriage was to be void: so divers wary Couples (to be sure of one another, howsoever they might repent it afterwards) were married both ways: also they Abrogated the Engagement whereby no man was admitted to sue in any Court of Law, that had not taken it, that is, that had not acknowledged the late *Rump*.

B. Neither of these did any hurt to *Cromwel*.

A. They were also in Hand with an Act to Cancel all the present Laws, and Law-Books, and to make a new Code more suitable to the Humor of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, of whom there were many in this Parliament; their Tenent being; That there ought none to be Soveraign but King Jesus, nor any to Govern under him but the Saints; but their Authority ended before this Act passed.

B. What

B. What is this to *Cromwel*?

A. Nothing yet; but they were likewise upon an Act, now almost ready for the Question; That Parliaments hence forward, one upon the end of another, should be Perpetual.

B. I understand not this, unless Parliaments can beget one another like Animals, or like the *Phœnix*.

A. Why not like the *Phœnix*? Cannot a Parliament at the day of their Expiration send out Writs for a new one?

B. Do you think they would not rather Summon themselves anew, and, to save the labour of coming again to *Westminster*, sit still where they were? or if they summon the Countries to make new Elections, and then Dissolve themselves, by what Authority shall the People meet in their County-Courts, there being no Supreme Authority standing?

A. All they did was absurd: though they knew not that, no nor this, whose Design was upon the Soveraignty; the Contrivers of this Act it seems perceiv'd not, but *Cromwel*'s Party in the House saw it well enough: and therefore as soon as it was laid, there stood up one of the Members and made a Motion, that since the Common-Wealth was like to receive little benefit by their Sitting, they should dissolve themselves. *Harrison* and they of his Sect was troubled hereat, and made Speeches against it: but *Cromwel*'s party, of whom the Speaker was one, left the House, and with the Mace before them went to *White-Hall*, and

and ſurrendred their Power to *Cromwel* that had given it them; and ſo he got the Soveraignty by an Act of Parliament, and within four days after, (*viz.*) *December* 16th. was Inſtalled Protector, and took his Oath to obſerve certain Rules of Governing engroſſed in Parchment, and read before him, the writing was called, The Inſtrument.

B. What were the Rules he ſware to?

A. One was to call a Parliament every third year, of which the firſt was to begin *September* the third following.

B. I believe he was a little Superſtitious in the Choice, *September* the third, becauſe it was lucky in 1650 and 1651 at *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*, but he knew not how lucky the ſame would be to the whole Nation, in 1658. at *White-Hall*.

A. Another was; That no Parliament ſhould be diſſolv'd till it had ſitten five Months, and thoſe Bills that they then preſented to him ſhould be paſſed within twenty days by him, or elſe they ſhould paſs without him.

A third, That he ſhould have a Council of State of not above twenty one, nor under thirteen, and that upon the Protectors Death this Council ſhould meet, and before they parted chuſe a new Protector. There were many more beſides, but not neceſſary to be inſerted.

B. How went on the War againſt the *Dutch*?

A. The Generals for the *Engliſh* were *Blake*, and *Dean*, and *Monk*; and *Van Tromp* for the *Dutch*; between whom was a Battel fought the ſecond

second of *June* (which was a Month before the beginning of this little Parliament) wherein the *English* had the Victory, and drove the Enemies into their Harbours, but with the loss of General *Dean*, slain by a Cannon-shot. This Victory was great enough to make the *Dutch* send over Ambassadors into *England*, in order to a Treaty. But in the mean time they prepared and put to Sea another Fleet, which likewise in the end of *July*, was defeated by General *Monk*, who got now a greater Victory than before; And this made the *Dutch* descend so far, as to buy their Peace with the payment of the Charge of the War, and with the acknowledgment, among other Articles, that the *English* had the right of the Flag. This Peace was concluded in *March*, being the end of this year, but not proclaimed till *April*; the Money it seems being not paid till then.

The *Dutch* War being now ended, the Protector sent his youngest Son, *Henry*, into *Ireland*, whom also some time after he made Lieutenant there; and sent *Monk* Lieutenant General into *Scotland*; to keep those Nations in Obedience. Nothing else worth remembring was done this year at home, saving the discovery of a Plot of Royalists (as was said) upon the life of the Protector, who all this while had Intelligence of the Kings designs from a Traytor in his Court, who afterwards was taken in the manner, and kill'd.

B. How came he into ſo much truſt with the King?

A. He was the Son of a Colonel that was ſlain in the Wars on the late King's ſide: Beſides he pretended Employment from the Kings loyal and loving Subjects here, to convey to his Majeſty Money, as they from time to time ſhould ſend him: And to make this credible, *Cromwel* himſelf cauſed Money to be ſent to him. The following year 1654. had nothing of War, but was ſpent in Civil Ordinances, in appointing of Judges, preventing of Plots (for Uſurpers are jealous) and in executing of the Kings Friends, and ſelling their Lands. The Third of *September*, according to the Inſtrument, the Parliament met; in which there was no Houſe of Lords, and the Houſe of Commons was made as formerly of Knights and Burgeſſes, but not as formerly two Burgeſſes of a Burrough, and two Knights for a County; for Burroughs for the moſt part had but one Burgeſs, and ſome Counties ſix or ſeven Knights; beſides there were twenty Members for *Scotland*, and as many for *Ireland*: So that now *Cromwel* had nothing to do, but to ſhew his Art of Government upon ſix Coach Horſes newly preſented him, which being as Rebellious as himſelf, threw him out of the Coach-Box, and had almoſt kill'd him.

B. This Parliament which had ſeen how *Cromwel* handled the two former, the long and the ſhort one, had ſurely learnt the wit to behave them-

themſelves better to him than thoſe had done.

A. Yes, eſpecially now that *Cromwel* in his Speech at their firſt meeting, had expreſly forbidden them to meddle with the Government of a ſingle Perſon and Parliament, or with the Militia, or with perpetuating of Parliaments, or taking away Liberty of Conſcience. And he told them alſo, that every Member of the Houſe, before they ſate, muſt take a Recognition of his Power in divers points; whereupon, of above 400 there appeared not above 200 at firſt; though afterwards ſome relenting, there ſate about 300 again: Juſt at their ſitting down, he publiſhed ſome Ordinances of his own, bearing date before their meeting, that they might ſee he took his own Acts to be as valid as theirs. But all this could not make them know themſelves, for they proceeded to the debate of every Article of the Recognition.

B. They ſhould have debated that before they had taken it.

A. But then they had never been ſuffered to ſit: *Cromwel*, being informed of their ſtubborn proceedings, and out of hope of any Supply from them, diſſolv'd them.

All that paſſed beſides in this year, was the Exciſe of the High-Court of Juſtice upon ſome Royaliſts for Plots.

In the year 1655. the *Engliſh*, to the number of near 10000, landed in *Hiſpaniola* in hope of the plunder of the Gold and Silver, whereof they thought there was great abundance in the

Town of *Santo Domingo*; but were well beaten by a few *Spaniards*, and with the loſs of near 1000 Men, went off to *Jamaica*, and poſſeſſed it.

This year alſo the Royal Party made another Attempt in the *Weſt*, and proclaimed there King *Charles* the Second; but few joyning with them, and ſome falling off, they were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and many of the Principal Perſons executed.

B. In theſe many Inſurrections, the Royaliſts, though they meant well, yet they did but diſ-ſervice to the King by their impatience. What hope had they to prevail againſt ſo great an Army as the Protector had ready? What cauſe was there to deſpair of ſeeing the King's buſineſs better done by the Diſſention and Ambition of the great Commanders in that Army, whereof many had the favour to be eſteem'd among them as well as *Cromwel* himſelf?

A. That was ſomewhat incertain: The Protector being fruſtrated of his hope of Money at *Santo Domingo*, reſolv'd to take from the Royaliſts the tenth part yearly of their Eſtates: And to this end chiefly, he divided *England* into eleven Major-General-Ships, with Commiſſion to every Major-General to make a Roll of the Names of all ſuſpected perſons of the King's Party, and to receive the tenth part of their Eſtates within his Precinct: As alſo to take caution from them not to act againſt the State, and to reveal all Plots that ſhould come to their knowledge, and to make them ingage the like for their Servants: They had Commiſſion alſo to for-

forbid Horſe-race, and concourſe of people, and to receive and account for this decimation.

B. By this the Uſurper might eaſily inform himſelf of the value of all the Eſtates in *England*, and of the Behaviour and Affection of every perſon of quality, which has heretofore been taken for very great Tyranny.

A. The year 1656 was a Parliament-year, by the Inſtrument; between the beginning of this year, and the day of the Parliaments ſitting, theſe Major-Generals reſided in ſeveral Provinces, behaving themſelves moſt tyrannically.

Amongſt other of their Tyrannies was the awing of Elections, and making themſelves, and whom they pleas'd, to be return'd Members for the Parliament, which was alſo thought a part of *Cromwel*'s Deſign in their Conſtitution; for he had need of a giving Parliament, having lately upon a Peace made with the *French*, drawn upon himſelf a War with *Spain*.

This year it was that Captain *Stainer* ſet upon the *Spaniſh* Plate-fleet, being 8 in number, near *Cadiz*, whereof he ſunk two and took two, there being in one of them two millions of pieces of 8, which amounts to 400000*l.* ſterling.

This year alſo it was that *James Naylor*, appear'd at *Briſtol*, and would be taken for *Jeſus Chriſt*; he wore his Beard forked, and his Hair compos'd to the likeneſs of that in the *Volto Santo*; and being queſtioned, would ſometimes anſwer, *Thou ſayſt it.* He had alſo his Diſciples that would

would go by his Horſe ſide to the mid-leg in dirt. Being ſent for by the Parliament, he was Sentenced to ſtand on the Pillory, to have his Tongue bored through, and to be marked in the Fore-head with the Letter B for Blaſphemy, and to remain in *Bridewell*. *Lambert*, a great Favourite of the Army, endeavour'd to ſave him, partly becauſe he had been his Souldier, and partly to carry favour with the Sectaries of the Army; for he was now no more in the Protector's Favour, but meditating how he might ſucceed him in his Power.

About two years before this there appear'd in *Cromwel*'s time a Propheteſs much fam'd for her Dreams and Viſions, and hearkened to by many, whereof ſome were Eminent Officers, but ſhe and ſome of her Complices being impriſon'd, we heard no more of her.

B. I have heard of another, one *Lilly*, that Propheſied all the time of the Long-Parliament, what did they to him?

A. His Propheſies were of another kind; he was a Writer of Almanacks, and a Pretender to a pretended Art of Judicial Aſtrologie, a meer Cozener to get Maintenance from a Multitude of ignorant people, and no doubt had been call'd in queſtion, if his Propheſies had been any wayes diſadvantageons to the Parliament.

B. I underſtand not how the Dreams and Prognoſtications of mad men (for ſuch I take to be all thoſe that foretel future Contingences) can be of any great diſadvantage to the Common-Wealth.

A. Yes, yes: know there is nothing that renders Humane Councils difficult, but the incertainty of future time, nor that ſo well directs men in their deliberations, as the fore-ſight of the ſequels of their Actions; Propheſie being many times the Principal Cauſe of the Event foretold. If upon ſome Prediction the people ſhould have been made to believe confidently, that *Oliver Cromwel* and his Army ſhould be upon a day to come utterly defeated, would not every one have endeavour'd to aſſiſt, and to deſerve well of the Party that ſhould give him the defeat: Upon this account it was that Fortune-tellers and Aſtrologers were ſo often baniſhed out of *Rome.*

The laſt memorable thing of this year was a Motion made by a Member of the Houſe, an Alderman of *London*, that the *Protector* might be petitioned and adviſed by the Houſe to leave the Title of *Protector*, and take upon him that of *King.*

B. That was indeed a bold Motion, and which would, if proſperous, have put an end to many mens Ambition, and to the licentiouſneſs of the whole Army. I think the Motion was made on purpoſe to ruine both the Protector himſelf, and his ambitious Officers.

A. It may be ſo. In the year 1657. the firſt thing the Parliament did was the drawing up his Petition to the Protector, to take upon him the Title of King; as of other Parliaments, ſo of this, the greateſt part had been kept out of the Houſe by force, or elſe themſelves had forborn to ſit, and became guilty of ſetting up this

King

King *Oliver*; but thoſe few that ſate, preſented their Petition to the Protector.

April the 9th, in the Banqueting-Houſe at *White-Hall*, where Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, the Speaker, uſed the firſt Arguments, and the Protector deſired ſome time to ſeek God, the Buſineſs being weighty: The next day they ſent a Committee to him to receive his Anſwer, which Anſwer being not very clear, they preſſed him again for a Reſolution, to which he made Anſwer in a long Speech that ended in a peremptory Refuſal; and ſo retaining ſtill the Title of Protector, he took upon him the Government, according to certain Articles contained in the ſaid Petition.

B. What made him refuſe the Title of *King*?

A. Becauſe he durſt not take it at that time, the Army being addicted to their great Officers, and among their great Officers many hoping to ſucceed him, and the Succeſſion having been promiſed to Major General *Lambert*, would have mutinied againſt him, he was therefore forced to ſtay for a more Propitious Conjuncture.

B. What were thoſe Articles?

A. The moſt important of them were; firſt, That he would exerciſe the Office of Chief Magiſtrate of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, under the Title of Protector, and govern the ſame according to the ſaid Petition and Advice; and that he would in his life-time name his Succeſſor.

B. I believe the *Scots*, when they firſt rebell'd, never thought of being Governed abſolutely as they were by *Oliver Cromwel*.

A. Secondly, That he ſhould call a Parliament every three years at fartheſt. Thirdly, That thoſe perſons which were legally choſen Members ſhould not be ſecluded without conſent of the Houſe. In allowing this Clauſe, the Protector obſerved not that the ſecluded Members of this ſame Parliament are thereby re-admitted. Fourthly, The Members were qualified. Fifthly, The Power of the other Houſe was defin'd. Sixthly, That no law ſhould be made but by Act of Parliament. Seventhly, That a conſtant yearly Revenue of a Million of pounds ſhould be ſetled for the maintenance of the Army and Navy, and 300000*l.* for the ſupport of the Government; beſides other Temporary ſupplies, as the Houſe of Commons ſhould think fit. Eighthly, That all the Officers of State ſhould be choſen by the Parliament. Ninthly, That the Protector ſhould encourage the Miniſtry. Laſtly, That he ſhould cauſe a profeſſion of Religion to be agreed on and publiſhed. There are divers others of leſs importance. Having ſigned the Articles, he was prenſently with great Ceremonies inſtalled a-new.

B. What needed that, ſeeing he was ſtill but Protector?

A. But the Articles of this Petition were not all the ſame with thoſe of his former Inſtrument: for now there was to be another Houſe; and whereas before his Council was to name his Succeſſors, he had power now to do it himſelf; ſo that he was an abſolute Monarch, and might leave the Succeſſion

Succeſſion to his Son, if he would; and ſo ſucceſſively, or transfer it to whom he pleas'd. The Ceremony being ended, the Parliament adjourned to the 20th of *January* following, and then the other Houſe alſo ſate with their Fellows.

The Houſe of Commons being now full, took little-notice of the other Houſe, wherein there were not of 60 perſons above nine Lords, but fell a queſtioning all that their Fellows had done during the time of their Seclusion; whence had followed the avoidance of the Power newly placed in the Protector Therefore going to the houſe, he made a Speech to them, ending in theſe words, *By the living God I muſt and do diſſolve you.*

In this year the *Engliſh* gave the *Spaniard* another great Blow at *Santa Cruz*, not much leſs than that they had given him the year before at *Cadiz*.

About the time of the diſſolution of this Parliament the Royaliſts had another Deſign againſt the Protector, which was to make an Inſurrection in *England*, the King being then in *Flanders* ready to ſecond them from thence with an Army: But this alſo was diſcover'd by Treachery, and came to nothing, but the ruine of thoſe that were ingaged in it, whereof many in the beginning of the next year were by a High Court of Juſtice impriſon'd, and ſome executed. This year alſo was Major General *Lambert* put out of all employment, a Man ſecond to none but *Oliver* in the favour of the Army: but becauſe he expected by that favour, or by promiſe from the Protector to be his Succeſſor in the Supreme

Power, it would have been dangerous to let him have command in the Army, the Protector having design'd his Successor his Eldest Son *Richard*.

In the year 1658. *September* the third, the Protector died at *White-Hall*, having ever since his last Establishment been perplexed with fear of being kill'd by some desperate attempts of the Royalists.

Being importun'd in his sickness by his Privy Council to name his Successor, he nam'd his Son *Richard*; who incouraged thereunto, not by his own Ambition, but by *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Thurloe*, and other of his Council, was content to take it upon him; and presently Addresses were made to him from the Armies, in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: His first business was, the chargeable and splendid Funeral of his Father.

Thus was *Richard Cromwel* seated in the Imperial Throne of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, Successor to his Father, lifted up to it by the Officers of the Army then in Town, and congratulated by all the parts of the Army throughout the three Nations, scarce any Garrison omitting their particular flattering Addresses to him.

B. Seeing the Army approv'd of him, how came he so soon cast off?

A. The Army was inconstant, he himself irresolute, and without any Millitary acts of Glory; and though the two principal Officers had a near relation to him, yet neither of them, but *Lambert*, was the great Favorite of the Army, and by courting *Fleetwood* to take upon him the Protectorship,

ctorſhip, and by tampering with the Souldiers, had gotten again to be a Colonel; he and the reſt of the Officers had a Council at *Wallingford Houſe*, (where *Fleetwood* dwelt) for the diſpoſſeſſing of *Richard*, though they had not yet conſidered how the Nations ſhould be govern'd afterwards. For from the beginning of Rebellion the method of Ambition was conſtantly this, firſt to deſtroy, and then to conſider what they ſhould ſet up.

B. Could not the Protector, who kept his Court at *White-Hall*, diſcover what the buſineſs of the Officers was at *Wallingford-Houſe*, ſo near him?

A. Yes: He was by divers of his Friends inform'd of it, and counſell'd by ſome of them, who would have done it, to kill the chief of them, but he had not courage enough to give them ſuch a Commiſſion: he took therefore the counſel of ſome milder perſons, which was to call a Parliament, Whereupon Writs were preſently ſent out to thoſe that were in the laſt Parliament of the other Houſe, and other Writs to the Sheriffs for the Election of Knights and Burgeſſes to aſſemble on the twenty ſeventh of *January* following. Elections were made according to the antient manner, and a Houſe of Commons now of the right Engliſh Temper, and about four hundred in number, including twenty for *Scotland*, as many for *Ireland*; being met, they take themſelves, without the Protector and other Houſe, to be a Parliament; and to have the Supreme Power of the three Nations. For the firſt buſineſs they intendeded the Power of that other

House; but because the Protector had recommended to them for their first Business an Act (already drawn up) for the Recognition of his Protectoral Power, they began with that, and Voted (after a Fortnights deliberation) that an Act should be made, whereof this Act of Recognition should be part, and that another part should be for the bounding of the Protectors Power, and for the securing of the Priviledges of Parliament and Liberties of the Subject, and that all should pass together.

B. Why did these Men own the Protector at first in meeting upon his only Summons? was not that as full a Recognition of his Power as was needful? why, by this Example, did they teach the People that he was to be obeyed, and then by putting Laws upon him teach them that he was not? was it not the Protector that made the Parliament? why did they not acknowledge their Maker?

A. I believe it is the desire of most men to bear Rule, but few of them know what Title one has to it more than another, besides the Right of the Sword.

B. If they acknowledged the right of the Sword, they were neither just nor wise to oppose the present Government, set up and approved by all the Forces of the three Kingdoms. The Principles of this House of Commons were no doubt the very same with theirs, who began the Rebellion, and would (if they could have raised a sufficient Army) have done the same against the Protector: and the General of their Army would in

in like manner have reduced them to a *Rump*; for they that keep an Army and cannot maſter it, muſt be ſubject to it, as much as he that keeps a Lion in his houſe. The temper of all the Parliaments ſince the time of Queen *Elizabeth* have been the ſame with the temper of this Parliament, and ſhall always be ſuch as long as the *Presbyterians*, and Men of Democratical Principles have the like influence upon Elections.

A. After they reſolv'd concerning the other Houſe, That during this Parliament they would tranſact with it, but without intrenching upon the Right of the Peers to have Writs ſent to them in all future Parliaments. Theſe Votes being paſſed they proceed to another, wherein they aſſume to themſelves the power of the Militia; alſo to ſhew their Supreme Power, they deliver'd out of Priſon ſome of thoſe that had been (they ſaid) illegally committed by the former Protector. Other points concerning Civil Rights, and concerning Religion, very pleaſing to the People were now alſo under conſideration; ſo that in the end of this year the Protector was no leſs jealous of the Parliament than of the Council of Officers at *Wallingford-houſe*.

B. Thus 'tis when ignorant men will undertake Reformation: There are three Parties, the Protector, the Parliament, and the Army; the Protector againſt the Parliament and Army, the Parliament againſt the Army and Protector, and the Army againſt the Protector and Parliament.

A. In the beginning of 1659. the Parliament

passed divers other Acts, one was to forbid the Meetings in Council of the Army Officers, without Order from the Protector and both Houses. Another that no man shall have any Command or Trust in the Army, who did not first under his Hand engage himself never to interrupt any of the Members, but that they might freely Meet and Debate in the House. And to please the Souldiers, they Voted to take presently into their consideration the means of paying them their Arrears: But whilst they were considering this, the Protector (according to the first of those Acts) forbad the meeting of Officers at *Wallingford-house*. This made the Government, which by the disagreement of the Protector and Army, was already loose, to fall in pieces. For the Officers, from *Wallingford-house*, with Souldiers enough, came to *White-hall*, and brought with them a Commission ready drawn (giving power to *Desborough* to Dissolve the Parliament) for the Protector to sign; which also, his heart and his party failing him, he signed. The Parliament nevertheless continued sitting; but at the end of the Week, the House adjourned, till the *Monday* after, being *April* the twenty fifth. At their coming on *Monday* morning they found the Door shut up, and the passages to the House fill'd with Souldiers, who plainly told them, *They must sit no longer*. *Richard*'s Authority and business in *Town* being thus at an end, he retir'd into the Country, where within a few days (upon promise of the payment of his Debts, which his Fathers Funeral

neral had made great) he ſigned a Reſignation of his Protectorſhip.

B. To whom?

A. To no body. But, after ten days ceſſation of the Soveraignty, ſome of the *Rumpers* that were in Town, together with the old Speaker Mr. *William Lenthall*, reſolv'd among themſelves, and with *Lambert*, *Heſlerig*, and other Officers, who were alſo *Rumpers*, in all forty two, to go into the Houſe, which they did, and were by the Army declar'd to be the Parliament. There were alſo in *Weſtminſter-Hall* at that time about their private buſineſs ſome few of thoſe whom the Army had ſecluded 1648. and were called the ſecluded Members. Theſe knowing themſelves to have been Elected by the ſame Authority, and having the ſame Right to ſit, attempted to get into the Houſe, but were kept out by the Souldiers: The firſt Vote of the *Rump*, reſeated, was, *That ſuch perſons as heretofore Members of this Parliament have not ſitten ſince the year* 1648. *ſhall not ſit in this Houſe till farther Order of the Parliament*: And thus the *Rump* recover'd their Authority *May* the ſeventh, 1659. which they loſt in *April* 1653.

B. Seeing there have been ſo many ſhiftings of the Supreme Authority, I pray you, for memories ſake, repeat them briefly in time and order.

A. Firſt from 1640 to 1648. when the King was murthered, the Soveraignty was diſputed between King *Charles* the Firſt, and the *Presbyterian* Parliament: Secondly, From 1648. to 1653.

The

The Power was in that part of the Parliament which voted the Tryal of the King, and declar'd themſelves, without King or Houſe of Lords, to have the Supreme Authority of *England* and *Ireland*. For there were in the Long-Parliament two Factions, the *Presbyterian* and *Independents*. The former whereof ſought only the ſubjection of the King, not his deſtruction directly; the latter ſought his deſtruction: and this part is it which was called the *Rump*. Thirdly, From *April* the twentieth, to *July* the fourth, the Supreme Power was in the hands of a Council of State, conſtituted by *Cromwel*. Fourthly, From *July* the fourth, to *December* the twelfth of the ſame year, it was in the Hands of Men called unto it by *Cromwel*, whom he termed men of Fidelity and Integrity, and made them a Parliament, which was called in contempt of one of the Members, *Barebone*'s Parliament. Fifthly, From *December* the twelfth, 1653. to *September* the third, 1658. it was in the hands of *Oliver Cromwel*, with the Title of Protector. Sixthly, From *September*, 1658. to *April* the twenty fifth, 1659. *Richard Cromwel* had it, as Succeſſor to his Father. Seventhly, From *April* the twenty fifth, 1659. to *May* the ſeventh of the ſame year, it was no where. Eighthly, From *May* the ſeventh, 1659. the *Rump*, which was turn'd out of Door, 1653. recovered it again, and ſhall loſe it again to the Committee of Safety, and again recover it, and again loſe it to the right Owner.

B. By whom, and by what Art came the *Rump* to be turn'd out the ſecond time?

A. One.

A. One would think them ſafe enough, the Army in *Scotland*, which when it was in *London*, had helped *Oliver* to pull down the *Rump*, ſubmitted now, beg'd pardon, and promis'd Obedience. The Souldiers in Town had their pay mended, and the Commanders every where took the old Engagement, whereby they had acknowledged their Authority heretofore; they alſo received their Commiſſions in the Houſe it ſelf from the Speaker, who was Generaliſſimo, *Fleetwood* was made Lieutenant-General, with ſuch and ſo many limitations as were thought neceſſary by the *Rump*, that remembred how they had been ſerv'd by their General *Oliver*: Alſo *Henry Cromwel*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, having reſign'd his Commiſſion by Command, return'd into *England*.

But *Lambert*, to whom (as was ſaid) *Oliver* had promis'd the ſucceſſion, and as well as the *Rump* knew the way to the Protectorſhip by *Oliver*'s own foot-ſteps, was reſolv'd to proceed in it upon the firſt opportunity, which preſented it ſelf preſently after.

Beſides ſome Plots of Royaliſts, whom after the old faſhion they again perſecuted, there was an Inſurrection made againſt them by Presbyterians in *Cheſhire*, Headed by Sir *George Booth*, one of the ſecluded Members; they were in number about three thouſand, and their pretence was for a Free Parliament: There was a great talk of another Riſing, or endeavour to riſe in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal* at the ſame time. To ſuppreſs Sir

George

George Booth, the *Rump* ſent down more than a ſufficient Army under *Lambert*, which quickly defeated the *Cheſhire* party, and recover'd *Cheſter*, *Leverpool*, and all the other places they had ſeized; divers of their Commanders in and after the Battel were taken Priſoners, whereof Sir *George Booth* himſelf was one.

This Exploit done, *Lambert*, before his return, careſſed his Souldiers with an Entertainment, at his own Houſe in *York-ſhire*, and got their conſent to a Petition to be made to the Houſe; that a General might be ſet up in the Army, as being unfit that the Army ſhould be judged by any Power extrinſick to it ſelf.

B. I do not ſee that unfitneſs.

A. Nor I. But it was (as I have heard) an Action of Sir *Henry Vane*'s! But it ſo much diſpleaſed the Rump, that they Voted; that the having of more Generals in the Army, than were already ſetled, was unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous to the Common-Wealth.

B. This was not *Oliver*'s Method: for though this *Cheſhire* Victory had been as glorious as that of *Oliver* at *Dunbar*; yet it was not the Victory that made *Oliver* General, but the Reſignation of *Fairfax*, and the proffer of it to *Cromwel* by the Parliament.

A. But *Lambert* thought ſo well of himſelf, as to expect it; therefore at his return to *London*, he and other Officers aſſembling at *Wallingford-houſe*, drew their Petition into form, and called it a Repreſentation, wherein the Chief point was

was to have a General; with many other of leſs Importance that were added; and this they repreſented to the Houſe *Octob.* the 4th. by Major General *Desborough*: And this ſo far forth awed them, as to teach them ſo much good manners, as to promiſe to take it preſently into Debate, which they did; and *Octob.* the 12th having recovered their Spirits, Voted, *That the Commiſſions of* Lambert, Desborough, *and others of the Council at* Wallingford-Houſe, *ſhould be void.* Item, *That the Army ſhould be Governed by a Commiſſion to* Fleet-wood, Monk, Heſlerig, Walton, Morley, *and* Overton, *till* February *the twelfth following*; And to make this good againſt the Force they expected from *Lambert*, they ordered *Heſlerig* and *Morley* to iſſue Warrants to ſuch Officers as they could truſt to bring their Souldiers next morning into *Weſtminſter*, which was done ſomewhat too late, for *Lambert* had firſt brought his Souldiers thither, and beſet the Houſe, and turn'd back the Speaker which was then coming to it; but *Haſlerig*'s Forces, marching about St. *James*'s Park Wall, came into St. *Margarets* Church-Yard, and ſo both Parties looked all day one upon another like Enemies, but offered not to fight; whereby the Rump was put out of poſſeſſion of the Houſe, and the Officers continued their Meeting, as before, at *Wallingford-Houſe*; there they choſe from among themſelves, with ſome few of the City, a *Committee*, which they called, *The Committee of Safety*, whereof the chief were

Lambert

Lambert and *Vane*, who, with the advice of a General Council of Officers, had Power to call Delinquents to Tryal; to suppress *Rebellions*; to treat with *Foreign States*, &c. You see now the *Rump* cut off, and the *Supreme Power*, (which is charged with *Salus Populi*) transferred to a *Council* of *Officers*, and yet *Lambert* hopes for it in the end: But one of their Limitations was, *That they should within six Weeks present to the Army a new Model of the Government*; if they had done so, do you think they would have preferr'd *Lambert*, or any other, to the Supreme Authority rather than themselves?

B. I think not: when the *Rump* had put into Commission (among a few others) for the Government of the Army, that is, for the Government of the *three Nations*, General *Monk*, already Commander in chief of the Army in *Scotland*, and that had done much greater things in this War than *Lambert*, how durst they leave him out of *this Committee of safety?* or how could *Lambert* think that Gen. *Monk* would forgive it, and not endeavour to fasten the *Rump* again?

A. They thought not of him, his Gallantry had been shown on *remote Stages*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*; his Ambition had not appeared here in their *Contentions* for the Government, but he had complyed both with *Richard* and the *Rump*. After General *Monk* had signified by Letter his dislike of the Proceedings of *Lambert* and his *Fellows*, they were much surpris'd, and began to think him more considerable than they had done, but it was too late.

B. Why,

B. Why, was his Army not too ſmall for ſo great an Enterprize?

A. The General knew very well his own and their Forces, both what they were then, and how they were to be *augmented*, and what generally *City* and *Country* wiſhed for, which was the *reſtitution* of the King; which to bring about, there needed no more but to come with his Army (though not very great) to *London*, to the doing whereof there was no obſtacle but the Army with *Lambert*. What could he do in this Caſe? If he had declar'd preſently for the King, or a free Parliament, all the Armies in *England* would have joyned againſt him, and, aſſuming the Title of a Parliament, would have furniſhed themſelves with Money. General *Monk*, after he had thus quarrelled by his Letter with the Council of Officers, he ſecur'd firſt thoſe Officers of his own Army which were *Anabaptiſts*, and therefore not to be truſted, and put others into their places; then drawing his Forces together, march'd to *Berwick*. Being there he indicted a Convention of the *Scots*, of whom he deſired, *That they would take order for the ſecurity of the Nation in his abſence, and raiſe ſome Maintenance for his Army in their March.* The Convention promiſed, for the Security of the Nation, their beſt Endeavour, and raiſed him a ſum of Money, not great, but enough for his purpoſe, excuſing themſelves upon their preſent Wants. On the other ſide, the Committee of ſafety, with the greateſt and beſt

part

part of their Army, ſent *Lambert* to oppoſe him; but at the ſame time, by divers Meſſages and Mediators, urged him to a Treaty, which he conſented to, and ſent three Officers to *London* to treat with as many of Theirs. Theſe ſix ſuddenly concluded, without Power from the General, upon theſe Articles; *That the King be excluded, a Free State ſetled, the Miniſtry and Univerſities encouraged*, with divers which the General liked not, and impriſon'd one of his Commiſſioners for exceeding his Commiſſion; whereupon another Treaty was agreed on, of five to five: but whileſt theſe Treaties were in Hand, *Haſlerig*, a Member of the Rump, ſeized on *Portſmouth*; and the Souldiers ſent by the Committee of Safety to reduce it, inſtead of *that* entred into the Town, and joyned with *Haſlerig*. Secondly, The City renewed their Tumults for a Free Parliament. Thirdly, The Lord *Fairfax* a Member alſo of the Rump, and greatly favour'd in *York-ſhire*, was raiſing Forces there behind *Lambert*; who being now between two Armies, his Enemies, would gladly have fought the General. Fourthly, there came news that *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal* were liſting of Souldiers. Laſtly, *Lambert*'s Army wanting Money, and ſure they ſhould not be furniſhed from the Council of Officers, which had neither Authority nor Strength to levy Money, grew diſcontented, and for their Free-Quarter were odious to the Northern Countries.

B. I wonder why the *Scots* were ſo ready to fur-

furniſh General *Monk* with Money, for they were no *Friends* to the Rump.

A. I know not; but I believe the *Scots* would have parted with a greater ſum, rather than the *Engliſh* ſhould not have gone together by the Ears among themſelves. The Council of Officers being now beſet with ſo many Enemies, produced ſpeedily their Model of Government, which was to have a free Parliament, which ſhould meet *December* the fifteenth, but with ſuch Qualifications of no King, no Houſe of Lords, as made the City more angry than before. To ſend Souldiers into the *Weſt*, to ſuppreſs thoſe that were riſing there, they durſt not, for fear of the City; nor could they raiſe any other, for want of Money: there remain'd nothing but to break, and quitting *Walling ford-Houſe*, to ſhift for themſelves. This coming to the knowledg of their Army in the *North*, they deſerted *Lambert*; and the Rumpers the 26. of *Decem.* re-poſſeſſ'd the Houſe.

B. Seeing the Rump was now re-ſeated, the buſineſs pretended by General *Monk* for his marching to *London* was at an end.

A. The Rump, though ſeated, was not well ſetled; but (in the midſt of ſo many Tumults for a free Parliament) had as much need of the General's coming up now, as before: He therefore ſent them word, that becauſe he thought them not yet ſecure enough, he would come up to *London* with his Army; which they not only accepted of, but entreated him ſo to do, and voted him for his ſervice 1000 *l.* a year.

The General marching towards *London*, the Country

Country every where Petition'd him for a free Parliament. The Rump to make room in *London* for his Army, diſlodged their own; the General, for all that, had not let fall a word in all this time, that could be taken for a Declaration of his Final Deſign.

B. How did the Rump revenge themſelves on *Lambert?*

A. They never troubled him: nor do I know any cauſe of their ſo gentle dealing with him; but certainly *Lambert* was the ableſt of any Officer they had to do them ſervice, when they ſhould have means and need to imploy him. After the General was come to *London*, the Rump ſent to the City for their part of a Tax of 100000 *l.* a Month for ſix Months, according to an Act which the Rump had made formerly before their Diſſeiſin by the Committee of Safety: But the City, who were averſe to the Rump, and keen upon a free Paliament, could not be brought to give their Money to their Enemies, and to purpoſes repugnant to their own; whereupon the Rump ſent Order to the General to break down the City Gates and their Portcullices, and to impriſon certain obſtinate Citizens: This he perform'd, and it was the laſt ſervice he did them.

About this time the Commiſſion by which General *Monk* with others had the Government of the Army put into their hands by the Rump, before the Uſurpation of the Council of Officers, came to expire, which the preſent Rump renewed.

B. He was thereby the ſixth part of the General of

of the whole Forces of the Common-wealth; if I had been as the Rump, he ſhould have been ſole General. In ſuch caſes as this, there cannot be a greater Vice than pinching: Ambition ſhould be liberal.

A. After the pulling down of the City Gates, the General ſent a Letter to the Rump, to let them know that this ſervice was much againſt his Nature; and to put them in mind, how well the City had ſerv'd the Parliament in the whole War.

B. Yes; but for the City the Parliament could never have made the War, nor the Rump ever have murdered the King.

A. The Rump conſidered not the Merit of the City, nor the good nature of the General, they were buſie, they were giving out Commiſſions, making of Acts for Abjuration of the King and his Line, and for the Old Engagement, and conferring with the City to get Money. The General alſo deſir'd to hear *C*onference between ſome of the Rump, and ſome of the Secluded Members, concerning the Juſtice of their Seclusion, and of the hurt that could follow upon their re-admiſſion, & it was granted. After long *C*onference, the General finding the Rumps pretences unreaſonable and ambitious, declar'd himſelf with the *C*ity for a free Parliament, & came to *Weſtminſter* with the Secluded Members, (whom he had appointed to meet and ſtay for him at *White Hall*) and replaced them in the Houſe among the Rumpers; ſo that now the ſame *C*attel that were in the Houſe of *Commons* in 1640. (except thoſe that were dead, and thoſe that went from them to the late King at *Oxford*) are all there again.

B.

B. But this methinks was no good service to the King, unless they had learnt better Principles.

A. They had learnt nothing; the major part was now again *Presbyterians*. 'Tis true, they were so grateful to General *Monk*, as to make him General of all the Forces in the three Nations: They did well also to make void the Engagement; but it was because those *Acts* were made to the prejudice of their Party, but recalled none of their own Rebellious Ordinances, nor did any thing in order to the good of the present King; but on the contrary, they declar'd by a Vote, that the late King began the War against his two Houses.

B. The two Houses, considered as two Persons, were they not two of the Kings Subjects? If a King raise an Army against his Subjects, is it lawful for the Subject to resist with force, when (as in this case) he might have had Peace upon his submission.

A. They knew they had acted vilely and sottishly; but because they had always so greater than ordinary wisdom and godliness, they were loth to confess it. The *Presbyterians* now saw their time to make a Confession of their Faith, and presented it to the House of Commons, to shew they had not changed their Principles; which (after six Readings in the House) was voted to be printed, and once a year to be read publickly in every Church.

B. I say again, this re-establishing of the Long Parliament was no good service to the King.

A. Have a little patience, they were re-established with two Conditions; one to determine their sitting before the end of *March*, another to send cu:

out Writs before their rising for new Elections.

B. That qualifies.

A. That brought in the King; for few of the Long-Parliament (the *Country* having felt the smart of their former service) could get themselves chosen again. This new Parliament began to sit *April* the 23. 1660. How soon these called in the King, with what Joy and Triumph he was receiv'd, how earnestly his Majesty prest the Parliament for the *Act* of Oblivion, and how few were excepted out of it, you know as well as I.

B. But I have not yet observ'd in the *Presbyterians* any Oblivion of their former principles, we are but return'd to the state we were in at the beginning of the Sedition.

A. Not so; for before that time, though the Kings of *England* had the right of the Militia in vertue of the Soveraignty, and without dispute, and without any particular *Act* of Parliament directly to the purpose; yet now after this bloody dispute, the next, which is the present *Parliament*, in proper and expres terms hath declar'd the same to be the Right of the King only, without either of his Houses of *Parliament*; which is more instructive to the people, than any Arguments drawn from the Title of Soveraignty, and consequently fitter to disarm the *Ambition* of all seditious Haranguers for the time to come.

B. *Pray* God it be so; howsoever I must confess, that this *Parliament* has done all that a *Parliament* can do for the security of our peace; which I think also would be enough, if our *Preachers* would

would take heed of instilling evil *Principles* into their Auditory. I have seen in this Revolution a circular motion of the Soveraign *Power*, through two Usurpers, from the late *King*, to this his Son; for (leaving out the power of the Council of Officers, which was but temporary, and no otherwise owned by them, but in trust) it moved from King *Charles* the First to the Long *Parliament*, from thence to the Rump, from the Rump to *Oliver Cromwel*, and then back again from *Richard Cromwel* to the Rump, thence to the Long *Parliament*, and thence to King *Charles* the Second, where long may it remain.

A. Amen: And may he have, as often as there shall be need, such a General.

B. You have told me little of the General, till now in the end: but truly, I think, the bringing of his little Army entirely out of *Scotland* up to *London*, was the greatest Stratagem that is extant in History.

FINIS.